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ABSTRACT

The lab activities described in this project, designed to help students integrate knowledge with action, are presently in the early developmental stages. Providing a setting for laboratory civics instruction, the school is viewed as a micro/political system offering a series of purposive participation experiences in which a transfer of knowledge can be applied to other political systems and everyday political situations. The volume is arranged into three parts. The first part, School Politics: The Laboratory Setting, offers a rationale for this particular type of political lab, discussing school as the focus of laboratory and the importance of political participation. Particular emphasis is placed on providing a framework for viewing school politics. Other topics discussed are patterns of political decision-making in the schools; patterns of leadership, participation, and communication in the schools; and political values in school politics. A major part of the volume, part two, provides laboratory activities characterized by knowledge building and skill activities concerned with building analytical, methodological, and participatory activities. Implications of the laboratory for the curriculum and the school are examined in the last part. A preliminary bibliography on materials relating to developing school laboratory activities is included. Related documents are SO 005 409 and SO 005 410. (SJM)

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FIRST DRAFT

LABORATORY ACTIVITIES FOR CIVICS INSTRUCTION

The School as an Instructional Laboratory for Integrating Knowledge About Politics and Experience in Political Participation

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INTRODUCTION

Jon, the editor of the Rye Elementary School Journal, paused to read again his letter to the President. "Dear President Nixon," he had written, "May we raise our school journal from two cents to three cents because we need some more dittos to make our magazine. And if we don't have the money we can't make the magazine." Concerned about wage-price guidelines during the Phase II period, John had decided to write the President to request permission to raise prices on the school journal. Not too long after the letter was mailed, he and his staff received a response from the Chairman of the Price Commission indicating approval of his request (and a check for a subscription).[1] Letter-writing such as Jon's has long been encouraged by teachers as a way to "get students involved" in political participation. In recent years, participation experiences have expanded in scope and frequency in many classrooms across the nation. Students are interviewing local mayors, visiting city welfare agencies, or doing field research on public policy problems. They are, in short, attempting to gain political knowledge first-hand.

Yet, for some teachers and students knowledge about politics is only a first step. In many school programs, students also put their knowledge to use in a variety of ways. In some schools students are active in getting local community members to register and vote, publishing information about political candidates, lobbying for issues in local councils or state legislatures, or promoting legal aid societies.[2] In these cases, students not only learn by doing, but they actually put their learning to work as more than a single classroom activity. In many of the "schools without walls," such as in the Parkway Program in Philadelphia, students spend a good part of their school day in the city observing, discovering and participating in its political life.[3] At least in some cases, then, civic education has become a rather psychedelic experience where learning contexts vary from lecture to simulation to community political life and through which students undertake a wide range of different types of activities.

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[1] The New York Times, January 1, 1972.

[2] These types of activities are outlined in Laboratory Practices in Citizenship: Learning Experiences in the Community, Citizenship Education Project, Teacher's College, Columbia University, New York, 1958, pp. 13-37.

However, despite the motivational and informational advantages of such experiences, participation is too often psychedelic without being habit-forming. In most cases other than the total turnover of an educational program to a participation format, participation experiences tend to be largely isolated from other classroom activities. In a sense, civic education has become one of the few "trips" that can be taken on a nonhabit-forming drug. Students are rarely able to establish patterns of behavior which demonstrate an increased tendency to be interested in political events, issues and organization.[4] Something is needed which will provide an integration between learning and doing that will make the result different from one more piece of knowledge tucked away in the locked cabinet of the student's memory bank. Learning by doing should also provide an effective way for making applications after the activity has been finished.

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[3] Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education, New York, Random House, 1970, pp. 349-356.

[4] Very few studies of the effects of student participation in relationship to the actual utilization of such knowledge have been undertaken, yet it parallels a good deal of simulation experiences which have been so critiqued. See Cleo H. Cherryholmes, "Some Current Research on Effectiveness of Educational Simulations: Implications for Alternative Strategies," American Behavioral Scientist 10 (1966), pp. 4-7.

How can participation become a habit and the knowledge and skills learned from such activities be put to use? One hypothesis which has been supported in study after study is that learning must be integrated with behavior and consistently reinforced through experience.[5] One of the most obvious ways to reinforce behavior is to consistently provide applications that are embedded in the everyday lives of students. This is not really so very difficult in civics instruction, for politics is an everyday experience. For U.S. Senators politics is a constant interplay of activities in the Congress, the Executive Office and the courts. For local mayors, meetings with state and city interest organizations are everyday calendar events of their lives. Similarly, for students the politics of the board of education, teacher activities, and their own peer groups structure their everyday lives in many more ways than they are often aware. For most students it is the school which is the center of their activity, yet often not the center of their attention. Therefore, in making a habit of participation, the school becomes the most relevant laboratory environment.

Yet, for the most part, schools have shunned political labels. They have never desired to promote the image of being political organizations.

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[5] B.F. Skinner, Technology of Teaching, New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1968.

As a result, many studies have demonstrated that school civic education experiences have little or no effect on the political orientations or behavior of students.[6] Yet there is a great deal of potential for carrying out such activities within schools. After all, political decisions, or decisions about how resources will be distributed, are made in school systems everyday. School boards decide on expenditures for personnel which determine who will participate in the system. Teachers decide which materials to use in the classroom which determine what students will learn and do. Students themselves decide whether to join one activity or another, or how to devote their time and energy resources within the school setting. "What shall I do Monday?" is thus a very real political choice on all levels of the school system. It is not too large a step to move from this type of thinking to viewing the school as a political system in which political experiences can be studied.

Viewed as a political system, the school provides a setting for a laboratory for civics instruction which is unique in many ways. Students spend five days of every week and often more there which provides continuity for experiences.[7] Students studying civics can also apply their learning in the school setting on a more permanent basis than sporadic entries into the lives of mayors or state officials. In addition, the fact that learning is centered there as well as activity makes an ideal setting for the integration between knowledge and action. Furthermore, the learning dimensions are multiple, for the carry-over to other political organizations and levels of political life is tremendous. Student elections, for example, can be studied in comparable ways to local and national elections. "Political parties" can be formed, campaigns can be run, and the vote can be analyzed.

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[6] Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 92-119.

[7] Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971.

Considering the laboratory in this way services more than participation goals alone. The school laboratory also provides opportunities for developing analytical and evaluational skills. Because data is readily available in the school setting for testing generalizations about politics, students can act as participant observers to decision-making situations, interview relevant leaders, or make changes in student organization in order to determine how alternative forms of political organization work. Students can, for example, devise alternative ways of organizing student councils and determine which form is most effective in their school setting. Thus, the school provides a way for students to compare and test alternative political forms of organization. The school laboratory also provides unique opportunities for students to study the history and development of school situations. Students could, for example, undertake content analyses of school newspapers or local newspaper files on school-community issues in order to study the political history of an ongoing political system, to determine how changes have come about over time, and to make predictions and evaluations of possible future developments. Thus, there are multiple learning payoffs in utilizing the school itself as a laboratory for learning.

The implications of such a program are tremendous. Such activities provide a concrete base for applications and illustrations of classroom knowledge. They provide the opportunity to develop analytical skills through direct experience. They provide a way to make political participation part of the everyday experience of students. For civics instruction which has consistently sought to provide students with "the knowledge needed to be effective and responsible members of society,"[8] the school laboratory is invaluable. With isolated forays into political life students cannot be expected to develop habits of participation, yet with sustained participation this goal has the potential to be achieved.

As meager as the data is to support this last conclusion, one major survey undertaken recently by the Johns Hopkins Center for Social Organization of Schools found that:

> "Participation can come in different forms, and each extra element adds a potentially different effect on students. Participation to increase social integration affects students' general satisfaction. If participation also adds new peer group mixes, new student norms will be developed, often emphasizing academic interest. If decision-making experiences are added, responsibility and decision-making skill will be increased, with more successful academic pursuits resulting as a by-product."[9]

An appropriate mix of different forms of participation, then, can have multiple consequences for the development of citizen roles.

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[8] William W. Scranton, et.al., "Findings of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest," The Chronicle of Higher Education 5 (October, 1970), p. 22.

[9] James McPartland, et.al., Student Participation in High School Decisions: A Study of Students and Teachers in Fourteen Urban High Schools, Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University, 1971, p. 14.

The laboratory also has multiple implications for the school itself. Knowledge of school organization can contribute more effective communication between groups participating in the school community. The mobilization of student efforts can channel leadership and interest among students into making positive contributions to the political system which most affects their lives. The activities included here can be utilized in many different types of curricula in different ways. Some schools may find some activities more important than others. Some may wish to use the entire package, others only parts. In some cases, the laboratory package may be used to develop permanent constructive roles for students as part of the political community of the school.

The rationale for building a school laboratory for civic education, then, is simple. It is based on the premise that the purpose of civic education is to provide useful knowledge about the political world in which students not only will live, but do live everyday. The assumption is that the school is the most relevant political system to serve as a referent for the development of such knowledge. The conclusion is that the school provides a useful instructional laboratory for integrating knowledge about politics and experience in political participation. What is left to demonstrate in the remainder of this document is how specifically such a lab can be developed and put into operation.

To make the laboratory operational, some more or less concrete ideas about what the school political system looks like need to be developed. A framework for understanding school politics serves as the basis for the entire laboratory effort. Next, specific laboratory activities need to be outlined for understanding and participating in significant political experiences which are outlined in the framework. Third, some prototype activities will indicate how the lab can be fit into various types of school settings and curriculum designs. Finally, implications of the lab for student learning and the school environment will be drawn. One of the major implications to be drawn is a kind of caveat. None of these activities are foolproof, nor are they designed to overwhelm the school "establishment" by turning school politics over to students. What is attempted here is not unique to civic education: to integrate scholarship and activity in a lasting way so that students can make a contribution, not only to the school, but to the political system in which they live as adults by having the knowledge, skills and experience to be more effective participants in any political community.

PART I: SCHOOL POLITICS: THE LABORATORY SETTING

In beginning to think of ways in which school politics can provide a useful setting for learning about political life, certain political activities immediately come to mind. If a key part of politics is decision-making, then certainly state legislatures, school boards, principals and teachers all make decisions of varying degrees of import for the running of the school system. The decisions of the superintendent, for example, are a result of the interplay of pressures from many groups of varying interests all of which influence the final policy which governs the school system. Other types of experiences also come to mind. School participation is often political, for students advocate policies such as a new dress code, teachers unionize and at times strike for higher salaries, or corporations compete for school contracts. Certainly all of these types of activities are common experiences in the political life of schools.

Political experiences such as these appear at a glance, yet there are many studies which aid in developing a more systematic framework for looking at school politics. Harmon Zeigler's study of the political life of teachers demonstrates how teachers' political attitudes and participation in educational politics can be explained by key background and school environment variables.[10]

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[10] Harmon Zeigler, The Political Life of American Teachers, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

Neal Gross' classic study of superintendents and boards of education demonstrates how group pressures affect policy decisions and the role of principals, teachers and parents in school politics.[11] Ralph Kimbrough's study of political power demonstrates how hidden power elites often influence official decision-makers in school politics much as standard community power studies reveal the "backroom" politics of community decisions.[12] Studies of this type document political behavior that is common to all levels of political life -- decision-making, power, or participation.

Though studies of this type provide information which is more systematic and generalizable across school systems, they continue to leave out aspects of politics which are important for understanding political life. For example, very few studies of voting behavior in school elections have been undertaken which go beyond single case studies. Very little is known about the political leadership structure within teacher or student populations. Still less is known about political communication networks within schools.

This type of criticism still misses an essential point, for all of these types of studies view schools in terms of individuals and the roles they play. The effect of this focus on individual behavior is well-illustrated by Barker and Gump in their study of the effects of size on school change:

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[11] Neal Gross, Who Runs Our Schools? New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958.

[12] Ralph B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision-Making, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964.

> "If a novice, an Englishman, for example, wished to understand the environment of a first baseman in a ball game, he might set about to observe the interactions of the player with his surroundings. To do this with utmost precision he might view the first baseman through field glasses, so focused that the player would be centered in the field of the glasses, with just enough of the environment included to encompass all his contacts with the environment, all inputs and outputs: all balls caught, balls thrown, players tagged, etc. Despite the commendable observational care, however, this method would never provide a novice with an understanding of the game which gives meaning to a first baseman's transactions with his surroundings, and which in fact, constitutes the environment of his baseball-playing behavior. By observing a player in this way, the novice would, in fact, fragment the game and destroy what he was seeking. . . he could never arrive at the phenomenon known as a baseball game by this means. . . . It would seem clear that a novice would learn more about the ecological environment of a first baseman by blotting out the player and observing the game around him."[13]

What is needed, according to the baseball analogy, is a way of looking at the politics of schools that will blot out the individual players so that the rules and patterns of player interaction can be understood. This is important because we are not as interested in what a specific principal in a specific leadership position does as we are in making sense out of the "game" of school politics. We want to know what the patterns of leadership or decision-making are so we can determine the rules of the game. We also want to know how different patterns weave together to make the fabric of school politics, to see why schools change or are in conflict or stay the same. We thus want to know how the game turns out under different rules, whether schools "win," "lose," or "draw." To do this, some type of overview or framework needs to be created which will provide an understanding of school political systems as wholes.

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[13] R.G. Barker and P.V. Gump, Big School, Small School, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964, pp. 15-17.

Few attempts have been made to look at schools in this way; that is, to take an overview and see what school politics as a whole might look like. However, some more or less useful analogies have been created. Bidwell, for example, attempts to approach the school as a formal organization much like a business firm or an administrative bureaucracy.[14] Others have drawn analogies to small societies such as gangs or peer-group cultures,[15] and even in some cases, to prisons as total societies in which students are the chief participants. It is not untrue that schools are in part adequately portrayed by such analogies, but there is much more to politics than is captured by studies of official administrative hierarchies or peer-group interactions or environmental forces alone. Common political experiences are just that -- political in the sense that influence is often unrelated to office and political participation often crosses strictly social boundaries. The difference that it makes to study politics by analogy rather than in and of itself is similar to the difference between teaching the formal structure of three branches of government at the expense of the logrolling, party politics, or decision-process viewpoints on politics.

What is actually needed, then, is an overview which is political. One of the only analogies which has been created that is essentially political for school politics is that developed by George La Noue and Norman Adler.[16] They began by taking a systems approach originally developed by David Easton and applying it to the school as a political system. Their model has four basic elements: inputs from the environment, the authority core, outputs from the school system, and feedback into the environment from outputs. Inputs are characterized as governmental and non-governmental influences such as legislative directives, money, and technical assistance. The school system itself converts these inputs into outputs such as student personnel taking jobs in society and attitudes which support the political system more generally. The model tells us a great deal as far as it goes, but it fails in one crucial point related to the development of laboratory activities. It does not indicate the substance of what goes on in the political system itself. As with the other analogies, then, the political analogy has sacrificed the substance of politics.

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[14] Charles E. Bidwell, "The School as a Formal Organization," in James G. March (ed.), Handbook of Organizations, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965, pp. 972-1022.

[15] C.W. Gordon, The Social System of the High School, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957.

How, then, can an overview be created which does not sacrifice common political experiences for formal official roles or put black boxes where information is most needed? One obvious way is not to analogize at all, but to begin with a definition of politics which captures its full dimensionality and build a framework from its central elements. Let us see what can be gained from such an approach. Surely one of the most widely-used definitions of politics is that developed by David Easton which states that politics is those interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society.[17] From this definition stem two focal components of any political process: activities through which values are allocated, and the political values themselves. What are important dimensions of each of these components? Surely decision-making, leadership, participation and communication are important activities through which political values are distributed. Just as surely power, wealth and ideology are important values which are part of the political process. What has been built here is a set of concepts which give key handles for understanding political life -- the game of politics. The concepts are not tied to a single individual or role in the political system, nor are they devoid of the substance of most common political experiences.

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[16] George R. La Noue and Norman Adler, Political Systems, Public Schools, and Political Socialization, a paper prepared for The Center for Research and Education in American Liberties Conference, Terrytown, New York, April 16-21, 1968.

A Framework for Viewing School Politics

According to the definition of politics just presented, seven concepts become key components of the framework for viewing school politics. Political activities such as decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication are key to determining how political values are distributed in the system. Political values such as influence, resources, and ideology capture the range of values which are distributed. That these concepts may prove more useful than others in the study of politics has been briefly indicated. However, their importance largely rests in how useful the concepts are for aiding in understanding what we want to know about politics. The central question thus becomes one of what we want to know.

Clearly, knowledge about such common political phenomena as authoritarian or democratic leadership and majority or dictatorship rules for decision-making is useful for understanding politics in its own right. However, none of these patterns occur in isolation; for one does not often experience political decision-making without leadership or participation patterns becoming important. Therefore, we are much more interested in how these patterns mesh and the difference it makes for the functioning of the political system. Does the system change? Does it remain the same? What we want to know, then, are some very fundamental political experiences which make a difference in the way the system operates.

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[17] David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York: John Wiley, 1965, p. 21.

One way to begin is to explore what experiences are common to every political system, whether that system is the school, the community, or the nation-state. In any of these political systems, individuals feel the impact of political change because, for example, different school policies effect whether schools will spend money on needed facilities or new curricula just as different national policies determine whether the draft will be extended or urban pollution research will be undertaken. Changes such as these demonstrably effect the lives of citizens in the school or national political system. Yet, at the same time, people are consistently influenced by the rules or decisions maintained in the political system because they act in accordance with rules or laws. A rule about dress codes or graduation credits can influence participants in the school political system in a much similar way that laws about school integration or voting effect every citizen. People are also involved in the experience of political development because, for example, increases in budgets allow for increased educational opportunities or new math better prepares students for jobs. Finally, people also become frustrated daily by political conflict because their work is threatened by demonstrations or strikes or arguments arise over priorities for school activities.

These four common political experiences -- political change, political maintenance, political development and political conflict -- constitute much of what we want to know about politics. The four political experiences and the seven concepts designed to aid in understanding them can be diagrammed as in Figure 1. The diagram demonstrates how the fundamental political experiences can potentially be explained by focusing on the pattern of political decision-making.[18]

Decision-making is a key process in any analysis of politics because it is through this process that guidelines for the use of the system's resources are developed. It is because of choices between alternatives that systems change, remain stable, or develop in one direction or another. Complete explanations of common political experiences must, however, include the influence of other political behaviors and attitudes. The figure demonstrates one way in which patterns of behavior such as leadership or values such as ideology influence the decision process, and therefore, the political experiences we desire to understand.

Potentially, this framework can do a great deal to aid understanding of school politics. Within the focus of the framework we will be interested

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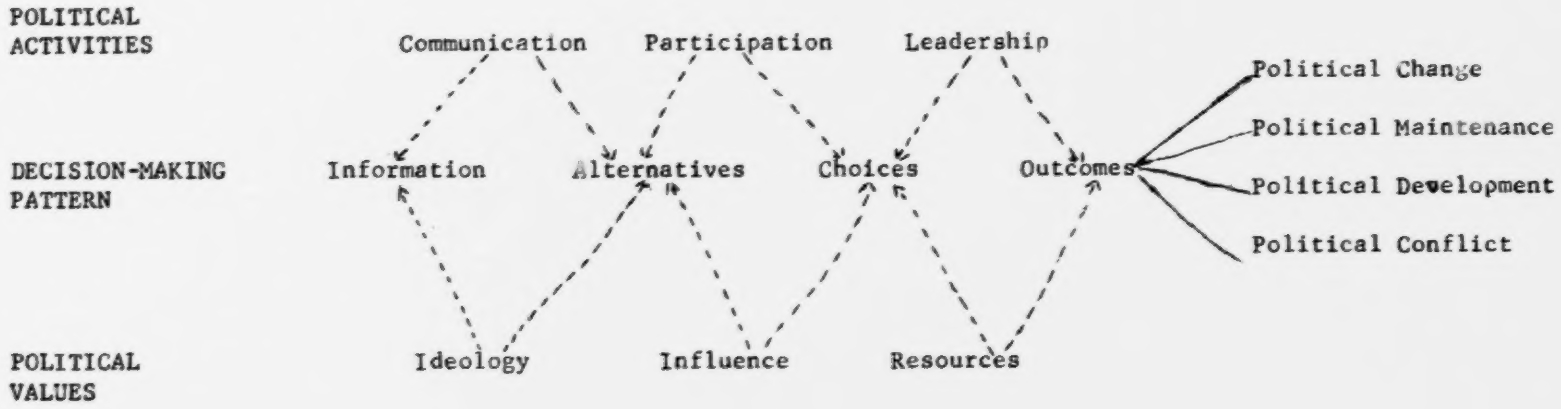
[18] The importance of the focus on decision-making is well presented by Joseph LaPalombara in his article, "Parsimony and Empiricism in Comparative Politics: An Anti-Scholastic View," in Robert T. Holt and John E. Turner, The Methodology of Comparative Research, New York: The Free Press, 1970, pp. 123-149.

FIGURE I: A FRAMEWORK FOR VIEWING POLITICS


FUNDAMENTAL
POLITICAL EXPERIENCES
POLITICAL
ACTIVITIES
Communication
Participation
Leadership
DECISION-MAKING
PATTERN
Information
Alternatives
Choices
Outcomes
POLITICAL
VALUES
Ideology
Influence
Resources
Political Change
Political Maintenance
Political Development
Political Conflict

in determining how changes in, for example, leadership bring about political conflict or how changes in political participation help to maintain behavior patterns in the school political system. What we now have is a way of looking at school politics which is based in common political experiences and from which we can gain a coherent idea of how the game of politics in schools is played. Furthermore, we have a basis for making comparisons to different levels of the American system as well as other national systems themselves. The next part of this section is designed to determine how the framework applies to the specific school setting.

Patterns of Political Decision-Making in Schools

The first thought which immediately comes to mind in considering school decision-making patterns is that decision-making occurs in a wide range of places, times, and contexts. State governments set rules for the determination of curriculum and instruction, hiring of personnel and disbursement of financial aid as well as accreditation. School boards and superintendents set local policy with respect to state parameters. National and state teacher organizations set rules for the protection of personnel. Local principals and faculty make choices about classroom instruction. Indeed, it would appear that there is not one game of politics going on here but many disparate decision structures with few over-lapping personnel or rules for decision-making. It is here where the laboratory requisites become important. We cannot give real, continuous political experience in all of these contexts to students who are hundreds of miles away from a state capitol or state teacher organization headquarters. Therefore, the most relevant unit of analysis becomes the local school district and the interactions in decision-making which affect local schools. Thus, even though decision-making structures cluster at various points in the system, the particular structure on which the lab focuses is decision-making in the local school system.

The most agreed upon focus for decision-making within local school systems rests in a single person, the superintendent. As Gross succinctly indicates, "the school board and the superintendent stand at the center both of the making of policy and of putting it into practice."[19] Few studies deny this fact, yet many would extend real decision-power to include many more groups. Kimbrough, for example, finds that unofficial formal interest groups hold as much decision-making power in many school districts as elected officials. Over a wide range of different types of power structures -- monopolistic, competitive, or even fragmented pluralism -- unofficial decision-makers can and often do dominate school decision-making. The important point here is that decision-making is much more than a vote at the time in which a policy is put into operation. It is a process in which many groups participate at various points which effect decision outcomes.

As a process, decision-making has several key components which are schematically presented in Figure 2. At least five important components are depicted in this figure: information, alternatives, choice, choice outcomes, and feedback. At each stage of the process different groups and

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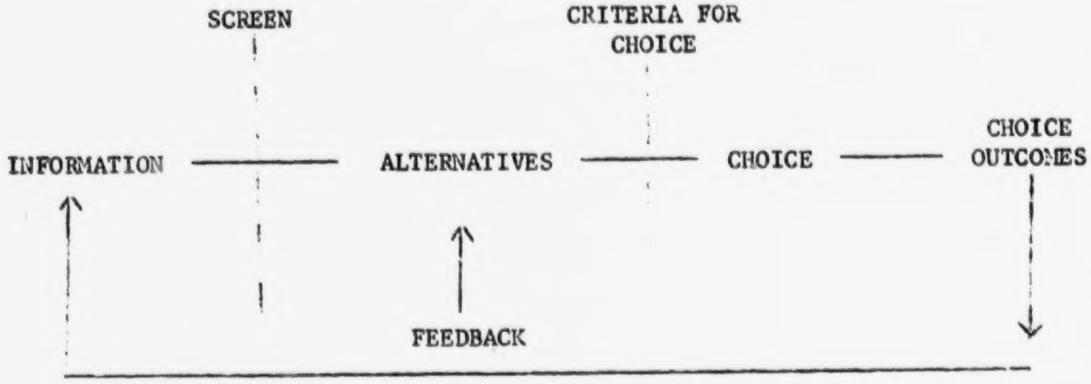
[19] Neal Gross, op.cit., p. viii.

FIGURE 2: THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS



behaviors become important. At the information stage there are several important types of groups. First, there are pressure groups whose function is to advocate a given position or interest. Important groups relevant to school decision-making include community businessmen or political officials, parents, and often teachers. Second, there are status groups whose concern is to guide the direction of information. Such groups have the power to suppress unfavorable information so that it never becomes part of the decision or to enter their own alternatives.[20] In the school setting, these groups include selected community members, principals, and, of course, the superintendent himself

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[20] Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," American Political Science Review, 56 (1962), pp. 947-953.

(especially in the large number of cases where the superintendent controls the agenda). A third type of group is composed of a variety of specialists whose function is to inform the decision-makers on the legality, cost, necessary expertise or other dimensions of alternative policies. Important groups in the school setting can include lawyers, corporate executives, or consultants from various fields.

Aside from group types, another important aspect of the information component is the type, distribution, and amount of information which enters the decision-making process. The most significant distinction in types of information is that between information consistent with previous decisions, or precedent-supporting information, and that which is inconsistent with past performance or present information. In the school setting the most relevant subtypes of information are financial, curricular, maintenance, and personnel categories.[21] The amount of each type and its distribution across alternatives can often largely determine the outcomes of decisions. One of the reasons why school boards often depend on precedent for choices among alternatives is that the amount of information about the consequences of a precedent is far.

The last important aspect of the information component is that of targets for information. A great deal of the import of targets such as superintendents or school board members lies in the particular composition of the school board. In some school boards, superintendents exercise large amounts of power, in others certain key school board members may be most influential in decision-making. One of the most interesting types of boards is that in which unofficial board members can act as important screens for information coming into the decision process, and thereby make themselves very important targets for information. Gross relays how complex the target structure can be when he relates a conversation with "Superintendent 19:"[22]

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[21] Norman D. Kerr, "The School Board as an Agency of Legitimation," in Alan Rosenthal, (ed.), Governing Education: A Reader on Politics, Power and Public School Policy, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969.

> Superintendent 19
>
> [Name] blocks good education in [name of town]. He's Town Moderator. He's a lawyer and has been a member of the General Court. He's one of those who goes around saying, "I didn't go to a fancy school when I was a kid and look at me." He's ignorant as hell and he's opposed to any increase in the tax rate. As Town Moderator he appoints his "yes men" to the Town Finance Committee, fellows who are against the schools. He lets them carry the ball. And of course we have to clear our budget with the [Town] Finance Committee.

In this case, trying to bring information to the superintendent on expanding the budget may not demonstrably effect school policy even if the superintendent himself is receptive.

The "alternatives" component of the decision process in schools (Figure 2) is no less complex or interesting. Of primary interest is the means by which alternatives are generated, the structure of groups around alternatives, and the amount of influence they can bring to bear on selection of alternatives, and the distribution and range of opinion on alternatives. Alternatives are generated in several ways. Some school boards make a habit of compiling as many alternatives as they can, surveying the pros and cons of each alternative, and then selecting among them. However, the great majority of boards use an incremental approach because surveying all of the alternatives proves to be too time-consuming. By this method, the first alternative selected is normally a precedent, or what the boards have done in the past. From this beginning, alternatives are selected which deviate only minimally from the precedent. The incremental process is often more efficient because the costs of conflict are cut considerably, yet it has also been labeled as essentially conservative.

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[22] Neal Gross, op.cit., p. 21.

A third model that is common for the consideration of alternatives is what is termed a mixed-scanning model. In this model some preliminary criteria are set for inclusion or exclusion of alternatives. This model combines features of both previous models in that not all alternatives are considered, but precedent does not serve as a criterion for excluding alternatives. The mixed scanning model has many benefits in that truly innovative alternatives are not excluded from the model, yet the costs of surveying alternatives are cut by an initial criterion. Of course, the initial criterion makes a great deal of difference in the effectiveness of the decision-making body. Some school boards use financial criteria for initial selection of alternatives, others use political ideology or community conflict as criteria. The differences between boards in selection of alternatives across the same set of possibilities can thus be profound.

As important as the means by which alternatives are generated is the structure of groups in decision-making and the amount of influence they can bring to bear on the selection of alternatives. The range of possible group structures is wide-ranging, but Steven Brams offers some working models of possible alternative structures. He discusses differences between hierarchical systems where a single person or group heads the process and influence flows from this source, mutual adjustment systems where there are several levels of groups but influence remains hierarchical, and mixed systems where influence is reciprocal in varying degrees.[23] In each kind of system, the real difference for decision-making is how within each structure groups cluster around alternatives. In a hierarchical system where, for example, the superintendent holds the position at the top of the influence hierarchy, his support of an issue will guarantee its acceptance. In a mixed system, however, there would have to be some kind of consensus on an alternative before it is selected.

The distribution of opinion clustering around alternatives in the decision-process can vary from complete consensus on a single alternative to total fragmentation and conflict across many alternatives. The distance between opinions on alternatives can promote consensus, compromise, or conflict in decision-making situations. It is at this point where decision-making is often dependent on leadership or where schools remain in a state of permanent crisis because decision-making has stalemated. Certainly the stalemate is more critical when the criteria for selection between alternatives are different among different groups. This brings us to the problem of choice in the decision process.

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[23] Steven Brams, "Measuring the Concentration of Power in Political Systems," American Political Science Review, June, 1968, pp. 461-475.

"Choice" is the major focus of decision-making (Figure 2), for certainly without the necessity for choice among scarce resources, politics as we know it would not exist. Choice is essentially dependent upon two elements: criteria for selection among alternatives and rules for making such selections. Normally, the criterion for selection of alternatives is considered to be a cost-benefit criterion. Individuals determine which alternative will maximize their gains and minimize their losses. This is all right when opinion is not polarized and/or collective decisions do not have to be made, but normally decision criteria approximate more of a "satisficing" than a maximizing principle. People decide that there are certain alternatives with which they will be satisfied and others with which they will not, and they are willing to compromise within these limits. Still another criterion can be used in which there is logrolling among mutually opposed groups such that one issue is conceded for satisfaction on another issue. In this way bargaining plays an important part in the decision-making process.

The bargaining arena between groups is generally structured by rules for making decisions. Such rules are not very different for school boards than they are for communities, nation-states, or, for that matter, international systems. Most boards decide issues under conditions of one of three rules: dictatorship rule, majority rule, or unanimity rule. Dictatorship rules, for example, occur often in school boards where the superintendent controls the decision process, whereas many other boards work for unanimity (at least in the vote in public meetings) among members. Many boards use a mix of rules with the superintendent controlling decisions on some issues and a majority of the board controlling decisions on others.

The outcomes (Figure 2) of such a process can be very different depending on how information is gathered, alternative selection is made, and rules are established for choice. It is the outcomes of decisions which the public normally sees and to which they react. This is why the "feedback" between groups effected by outcomes and decision-makers is so important. It is here where communication plays a key role. There are many different ways in which feedback can be structured in a decision-making process. Feedback can come directly to decision-makers from their own perceptions of situations or indirectly from school personnel. It can also come from outside the school through community officials or concerned parents. It is clear, then, why communication plays an important role in this stage.

In summary, the decision-making process in schools can be viewed as very political and complex. It is, no doubt, the focal process for political activity. As has been demonstrated, other key political processes are intimately interrelated with decision-making in the school setting. Leadership plays a key role in choice while participation plays an important role in the selection of alternatives. Communication is important in information gathering and in the feedback process. How each of these variables relate is important to determining all aspects of the school system's operation. The purpose here has been to identify key elements of the decision-making process in order to determine the setting for laboratory activities and to indicate some ways in which differences in decision-making can effect school change and maintenance, development and conflict. The purpose of the next section is to outline the key characteristics of political activities related to decision-making such as leadership, participation, and communication.

Patterns of Leadership, Participation and Communication in Schools

Sexton has pinpointed a commonly perceived problem of most schools as "isolation from society and all its subsystems and the central need to promote all varieties of interaction between schools and society."[24] This is, in many ways, as ironical a criticism as it is true. Certainly what schools teach often does not fit the needs of students as they become job-holding citizens in society. Yet schools themselves are very much a part of society's fabric in their everyday operation. Neither students nor faculty nor administrators can completely turn off their problems or their ideals within the school setting. Accordingly, the political problems of schools are very much part and parcel of the political life of the nation. The real problem is, again, in the perspective that one takes. Viewing schools as political systems, the criticism seems almost nonsensical. The next few paragraphs will illustrate how far the criticism is from the mark in terms of the working model of school politics.

School Leadership. As is true of most people in leadership positions in schools, society impinges on the superintendent, the principal, and the classroom teacher as well as student leaders on an everyday basis. The Town Finance Committee may veto the superintendent's budget, parents may flood the principal's office over issues as seemingly minimal as suspensions over hair length or those which may or may not be of greater import such as classroom activity or curriculum offerings. In the same vein, teachers are confronted not only with parents, but with students bringing in issues, life-styles and problems from the "outside" environment as well as with teacher-to-teacher politics within the school. Student leaders are consistently seeking support for one or another activity; both team work and solicitation are essentially political activities. For whatever reason, being in a school environment remains an essentially political experience which is open to the outside world in enough places to make it very difficult to determine boundaries for behavior. Schools without walls do not make a demonstrable difference in this condition. They do, however, increase the awareness of it.

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[24] Patricia Cayo Sexton, The American School: A Sociological Analysis New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.

As a key part of the political process of schools, leadership is difficult to define. On the one hand, almost everyone is a leader over someone else because the areas or activities in which leadership is exercised are so numerous. A student may be a leader in the student council and a follower in the classroom. A principal may be a leader of teachers and a follower of a superintendent. These relationships cannot be simply defined in an organization chart, for leadership, like decision-making, has many informal aspects which are as important as the formal ones. One thing is certain, however, leadership is reciprocal: it is based on the exercise of influence by one person and the response to that influence by another.

How, then, can we begin to indicate the leadership relationship within the school community? One way is to define its key components. Basically, we have said that leadership exists when there is a basic inequality in the relationships between two people or groups. The nature of this inequality can have very different characteristics. The base of the leadership relationship is thus very important. Yet leadership is essentially more than a quality, it is an activity; namely, the exercise of influence. Therefore leadership style, or what a leader will or will not do with his influence, becomes important. The schools contain examples of many political prototypes in this respect, for in every school system there are both Machiavellian and Gandhian leadership types. As much as style is important, so is strategy, or how leaders move to make their desires effective. Therefore, how leaders mobilize their followership to act becomes crucial for leadership in any setting.

Each of these components -- base for leadership, style, and strategy -- is evidenced in the school setting. The bases for leadership can be very different within the same school. Generally, bases for leadership fall into four types: status, wealth, power and personality.[25] Status differentials invade the school setting from multiple directions. Zeigler indicates some of the more implicit inequalities due to sex, tenure, and amount of education in the formal and informal leadership groups among teachers. Women, Zeigler states, often take leadership positions in teacher organizations as well as in teacher-to-teacher interactions within schools because of status differentials with males. More generally, principals gain leadership positions because of teaching experience and exercise influence due to position within the status hierarchies in schools. Power and personality differentials follow many of the same lines. A radically different relationship is that based on wealth.

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[25] Actually, leadership has many more bases, yet these presented here are prototypic of those presented in more comprehensive studies. See especially, Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

Certainly not much leadership power is gained in teacher peer interactions because of this factor, yet in terms of school board leadership or community member entrance into school leadership, this factor has traditionally made a great deal of difference in the leadership structure of schools.

None of these bases would have much import unless influence is activated and leadership is exercised when the capacity is there. Therefore, how influence is exercised becomes an important factor in leadership. Does the principal use his status to dictate policy to teachers and students, or does he use power to offer rewards to key members of groups which oppose him in an effort to gain support for his policies? Such leadership exercise can affect not only the structure of decision-making, but the kinds of policy outcomes which result. For example, in a heterogeneous group structure where opinion on issues is very different between groups, the principal may choose to make policy without consulting faculty, yet to which faculty are bound. As a result, alternatives which may have brought about considerably different policy directions are ignored. In a situation in which policy is brought before the faculty for consideration, this may or may not be the case.

Political leadership, then, is much more concretely a part of school life than was first suggested. Leadership can have a great deal of impact on how choices are made between alternative policies as well as the outcomes of the decision-making process. It can also measurably affect political change or development. A superintendent who exercises a powerful influence on a board and local school officials can redirect the entire development pattern of a school. If he ignores equally powerful community interests, he can be removed from office for a more majoritarian leader. Political changes such as these are not rare in school politics, and leadership becomes an important variable in understanding both decision-making and the more fundamental common political experiences within schools.

School political participation. Political participation is also a large part of school political life. Generally, thinking about political participation promotes images of partisan politics and voting in national elections. Participation in schools is at the same time very much different and very much the same as partisan political behavior. Certainly analogies can be drawn between communities voting for school board members and votes for candidates in national elections. Yet even at this point, the structure of political behavior is different, because most school board elections are non-partisan. In addition, the function that local school board members perform in relation to their constituents is different.[26] Along the same lines, participation by citizens as lobbiests in decision-making situations parallels the work of national lobbies in Congress, yet again the degree of organization and permanancy of such groups at the local level is so loose and short-lived that a sound argument can be made that the nature of participation is fundamentally different.

Similarities and differences in participation in school and national politics highlight the need for an index of participation which is somewhat different from those contructed for citizen participation in the national system.[27] Scales such as Milbrath's are based on the degree to which individuals make sustained contributions to politics through increasingly organized political activity. Such an index would indeed apply to the "activists" in school politics. Specialists bring information to bear on decisions. Community influentials or organized interest groups lobby for support, Central decision-makers are elected by the people. At this end of the index, activists promote different viewpoints which parallel partisan attachments. However, as one proceeds down the index of activism to less regular participation, the type of participation changes. Entrance into the political process becomes much more sporadic and issue-oriented. In this case, participation can be evaluated in terms of the political resources which people mobilize and their effect on the decision process. Due to this difference between levels of participation it would appear that the type of instrument used to measure participation needs to be changed from involvement in organized activity to selective involvement in school politics and that the measure of involvement is the amount of resources mobilized by participants and their effect on the decision process.

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[26] Norman D. Kerr, op. cit.

Viewing participation as resources mobilized and effect on decision-making, the key types of participants in the index become: 1) passives, 2) information gatherers, 3) voters, 4) individuals supporting issues, 5) organized groups supporting issues and 6) decision-makers themselves. Within each of these categories, individuals may have more or less effect on the decision process depending on the resources they mobilize. In this sense, groups lobbying for increasing or decreasing tax rates at the time of school budget formation are in the full sense of the word "participating" in the political life of schools even though the groups may disband after a single issue. Accordingly, the type of participation resources mobilized, and effectiveness become important components in understanding political participation in schools.

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[27] Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

At least one other dimension of participation is key to understanding political behavior: the decision to participate. Why do people participate in any of the ways indicated above? Classic studies of selective versus group benefits and participation in organized groups apply to schools as well. As the studies of the kindergarten crisis in Eugene, Oregon demonstrate, few people in school situations participate in group activities unless they can derive some selective benefits. Thus parents with children in schools tend to participate more in school politics than parents without children in school. Such parents also tend to be more supportive of innovations in teaching techniques and the like.[28] Both the decision to participate and the organizational forms which participation takes in schools, then, carry a direct parallel to political organization at the other levels of the system where cost-benefit analyses have proved useful in explaining why participation takes one form rather than another.[29]

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[28] Robert E. Agger and Marshall N. Goldstein. Who Will Rule the Schools? A Cultural Class Crisis, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971.

[29] Mancur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups, New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

The types, effectiveness and motivational elements of participation in school politics can have profound effects on school decision-making and the more fundamental political experiences of change and maintenance of the school political system. Examples of the difference between passive communities who largely leave school decisions to school personnel and those in which community members are not only active, but divided over the directions that school policy should take, are common to almost any study of any school system. In fact, participation can and does have a measurable effect on the types of alternatives which are considered in the decision-making process as well as the feasibility of choices such as building new facilities or introducing new curricula. The effects are not always one-sided, for at times community groups can spur innovation in directions that school boards would not otherwise deem feasible while at other times community pressure may deadlock decisions in order to preserve the status quo.

School political communication. Political communication, like participation, is to a certain extent very different in school politics. In this case, a demonstrable difference in distance between persons involved in school politics and national politics is an overriding concern. Yet a great many factors mediate this difference. In most cases in schools people continue to get most of their news from newspapers and other mass-distributed materials both inside and outside of the school building itself. Opinion formation continues to be dependent largely on this information and that gained through peer group interactions. The proportionate distance between decision-makers and between decision-makers and non-decision-makers is very similar to that which exists in other areas of the political system. Thus the analogy between political communication at the systemic level of the nation and that at the level of the school often holds despite differences in size and scope.

Political communication can thus be seen as the network through which the process of politics is carried out. Again, as with participation, political communication can be distinguished from other forms by its relationship to the decision-making process. Yet the scope of communication must be extended somewhat, for opinion formation is often geared to communication which is only indirectly related to decision-making. As Agger and Goldstein point out, opinion formation and change is also directly related to social class status and peer group information may structure favorable or unfavorable dispositions toward schools which measurably effect opinions on school issues.[30] Therefore, five key components are included in political communication: the structure of the communication network, the flow of information within the network, the type of information flow, the distance between opinions in the groups which structure the network, and the salience of given types of communication to given groups.

Several basic means of communication structure the communication network in school settings. Face-to-face communication distinguishes out several groups or nodules of the structure: superintendent and school board form one group, principal and some teachers another group, cliques within the teacher peer group, student body and community also appear. Between groups with face-to-face contact, oral communication via telephone or loudspeaker puts linkages into the structure. Within this context, mass media such as newspapers and television give the network scope beyond those who directly discuss school politics, yet who may well vote or indirectly influence school decisions.

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[30] Robert E. Agger and Marshall N. Goldstein, op. cit.

In addition, the structure of opinion in mass school publics -- student and community -- has a direct analog in public opinion on the local, state and national levels of politics. Most public opinion in schools, as in other mass publics, is highly fragmented. No real ideology orders opinion from issue to issue, but a kind of general pro or con attitude toward schools can and often does exist.[31] This kind of issue orientation, or the lack of it, has led to a voter calculus based on the "vote against" if there are general crises in the political life of schools. It is often a major stimulus toward change in popularly elected governing bodies.[32] Thus school settings provide an excellent setting for the study of public opinion and its relationship to decision-making.

The flow of information within such a network is key to the political process. How much community, teacher or student awareness is there of school politics? Community apathy in regard to school politics has long plagued superintendents and teachers alike. Yet often issues become salient to community members and conflict creates crises in schools. Both factors are important in the study of school politics. The flow of communication and the distance between group opinions combine to determine a great deal about whether schools will maintain stable patterns of behavior or conflict will produce change. As has been indicated before, when these concepts are related to the substructure of group opinion within the decision-making process, a great deal of school policy choice can be explained.

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[31] Robert E. Agger, "The Politics of Local Education," in Alan Rosenthal, (ed.), Governing Education: A Reader on Politics, Power and Public School Policy, New York: Doubleday, 1969.

[32] Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy, New York: Harper and Row, 1957, pp. 36-50.

Communication, then, becomes political when it effects the decision-making process. The most salient points at which the network of communication effects decision-making are at the information and alternatives stages. Communication also has a major input into the "feedback" component of decision-making. In this case, *what* is communicated about policy outcomes and *how* it is communicated can have a real input on whether or not there is any possibility of implementing a policy once it is chosen. Major changes or stability of policy outputs over time are thus directly related to the communication process.

Conclusion. This section began with a quote from Patricia Sexton which indicated that one key problem of schools was their isolation from society. The illustrations above indicate that although the *curriculum* in schools may be disfunctional compared to society's needs, there is certainly no reason to believe that the school itself does not provide a basis for developing relevant knowledge about everyday political experience. Through the previous discussion we can now list significant aspects of political life which do enter school boundaries:

1) Political Decision-making

    a) Information Gathering
    b) Generation of Alternatives

  - c) Criteria for Choice
  - d) Rules for Choice -- dictatorship, majority rule, unanimity
  - e) Policy Outcomes
  - f) Results of Policy Outcomes in the Political Environment -- feedback

2) Political Leadership

  - a) The Basis for Leadership -- power, wealth, status, personality
  - b) The Exercise of Leadership -- style
  - c) The Strategy of Leadership

3) Political Participation

  - a) Type of Participation
  - b) Resource Mobilization
  - c) Effectiveness in Decision-Making
  - d) Motivation -- costs and benefits

4) Political Communication

  - a) Structure of Communication Network
  - b) Type of Information
  - c) Flow of Information
  - d) Distance between Opinions and Their Salience

Each of these categories are important to understanding and participation in the political life not only of schools, but of any political system. Each also serves to aid in explaining the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development, and conflict.

Political Values in School Politics

At the top of the priority list for most schools lies the same problem -- money. Financial resources for schools never seem to be enough regardless of subsidies from state and federal sources. In a sense, this problem focuses on the heart of the reason why we have politics to begin with -- political decision-makers are forced to make choices about "who gets what" under conditions of scarce resources. Yet the scarcity of resources extends well beyond the particular financial condition of a school system to a scarcity of talent, power to make things work, or ideas about how to solve problems. Each of these are valuables of a different type. All are important to politics because each is both valued and scarce.

Political values, then, are a very real part of school politics even though ideology or influence is not party-related. Certainly one of the most familiar political values is political influence. Regardless of their attempts to remain "above" politics, schools demonstrate every form of influence common to systems to which the term "political" is applied. The basic types of influence can be broken into two basic kinds -- formal and informal -- and into varieties of each kind -- personal, positional, wealth, power itself, status, authority, force. All of these forms of influence are characteristic of schools.

Within the school system as a whole, the importance of these types is accentuated by factors of distribution. Students often rightly complain that they have no influence on school decisions. This can be true if authority, force or status, all rest in a selected subset of administrators and the students are not represented. Teachers also voice a similar complaint. Yet in this case, they do often have considerable authority in the system, but very little power to influence others. The distribution of influence in a system can also be very important in determining the outcomes of decision-making. For example, systems where there is a dictatorship rule for decision-making and where force is the influence basis of leadership will be run very differently than systems in which status or wealth is the influence base and decisions will reflect different values. Most systems combine various types of influence in the school, for example, students may be subjected to force, whereas teachers may yield to status as influence.

Influence bases in the school system also often determine the potential of the structure for making decisions. In this sense, the type and distribution of influence set rules or restraints on the types of political behavior that can be undertaken within the system. For example, in a system where force is not a legitimate source of influence and personality is, the structure of power will tend to be much wider at the top than when appeals to force or authority can be used. This is so because leaders will base their influence on interpersonal communication which necessitates a much wider range of contacts.

Influence is valued because it allows political actors to do something they otherwise would not be capable of doing. Yet people often value political resources such as wealth or status in and of themselves, rather than for the purposes of being influential. What is more, people often value resources because they aid the system in development or change regardless of whether or not specific individuals become more influential. Thus, political resources are values of a different sort than political influence. Many people in the school system accept yearly raises, not in order to be more politically efficacious within the school system, but in order to gain personal satisfaction. When such personal satisfaction is not gained or unequally gained across the system, conflict can and does result. In still another case, financial resources are often valued because schools can then build facilities or hire personnel rather than because the superintendent himself becomes more wealthy or politically influential in the process.

Again, as with the values of influence, we are interested in the type and distribution of resources in the school political system. The type and distribution of resources in the political system measurably effects the outcomes and the nature of the feedback process in decision-making. As it is true that the amount of resources differs widely between schools, it is also true that the distribution of resources across categories and populations within school systems varies demonstrably. Some school systems devote most of their resources to personnel, others to facilities, still others to curriculum change. As a result school systems have very different strengths and weaknesses in their educational product. Thus resources, like influence, structure the kinds of political behavior that is found in school systems.

Many things which people value are less tangible than either influence or resources. Indeed, people share ideas and goals about "the good life" which are valuable to them regardless of the influence or resource structure of the school system. Although Agger and Goldrich did not find a strong partisan ideology among school populations, they did find that people shared various ideas about the goals of education which demonstrably affected at least their voting behavior in schools. As well, Gross indicates how superintendents and school boards as decision-makers or decision-makers and community groups often conflict on the bases of educational philosophy. The ideology is not a tight-knit cognitive structure from which people weigh all alternative policies, but it does often include major ideas about fiscal, curricular or personnel needs in the system.

The key elements of political ideology in school politics thus become the degree to which beliefs about school politics are linked together to form an ideological *structure*, the *substance* of these beliefs, and the *salience* of these beliefs. We will also want to ask a distributional question about the *degree of cleavage and support* for varying ideologies in the school political system. The politics of "gaps"--the generation gap, liberalism vs. conservatism, free school vs. closed classroom learning--parallels the types of political cleavages over establishment vs. new left political beliefs, Democratic vs. Republican party affiliations, and stands on economic policy taken in the political electorate as well as elite decision circles. There are many parallels, then, which make political ideology a viable part of an ongoing school political process.

The applications of political values to the school political setting are thus multiple. The list of subjects for laboratory activities can thus be extended to include value components and their relationship to the decision process as follows:

1) Political Decision-Making

    a) Information Gathering
    b) Generation of Alternatives
    c) Criteria for Choice
    d) Rules for Choice -- dictatorship, majority rule, unanimity
    e) Policy Outcomes
    f) Results of Policy Outcomes in the Political Environment -- feedback

2) Political Leadership

    a) The Basis for Leadership -- power, wealth, status, personality
    b) The Exercise of Leadership -- style
    c) The Strategy of Leadership

3) Political Participation

   a) Type of Participation
   b) Resource Mobilization
   c) Effectiveness in Decision-Making
   d) Motivation -- costs and benefits

4) Political Communication

   a) Structure of Communication Network
   b) Type of Information
   c) Flow of Information
   d) Distance between Opinions and Their Salience

5) Political Influence

   a) Type of Influence -- formal and informal
   b) Distribution of Influence
   c) Structure of Influence Relations

6) Political Resources

   a) Type of Resources -- money, status
   b) Distribution of Resources

7) Political Ideology

   a) Structure of Beliefs
   b) Substance of Beliefs
   c) Salience of Beliefs
   d) Degree of Cleavage between Beliefs

It is around these general subjects, then, that the school laboratory activities can generally be constructed which are useful for understanding the common political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

School Politics -- Implications for Laboratory Activities

Taking an overview of school politics in this way has many implications for a wide range of laboratory activities. One key implication is certainly that there are an almost limitless supply of points of entry within the school system for students to study and understand major aspects of political life.

Therefore, participant observation becomes a key component of the laboratory. Students observe and study school political life from the P.T.A. to the classroom setting. Yet there are other key activities which are implied by the framework. Students have a wide range of opportunities to collect data and form generalizations about school political life. They have increasing opportunities to compare and contrast different political structures and situations. They also have a real chance to effectively participate themselves in each of the major dimensions of political life in schools.

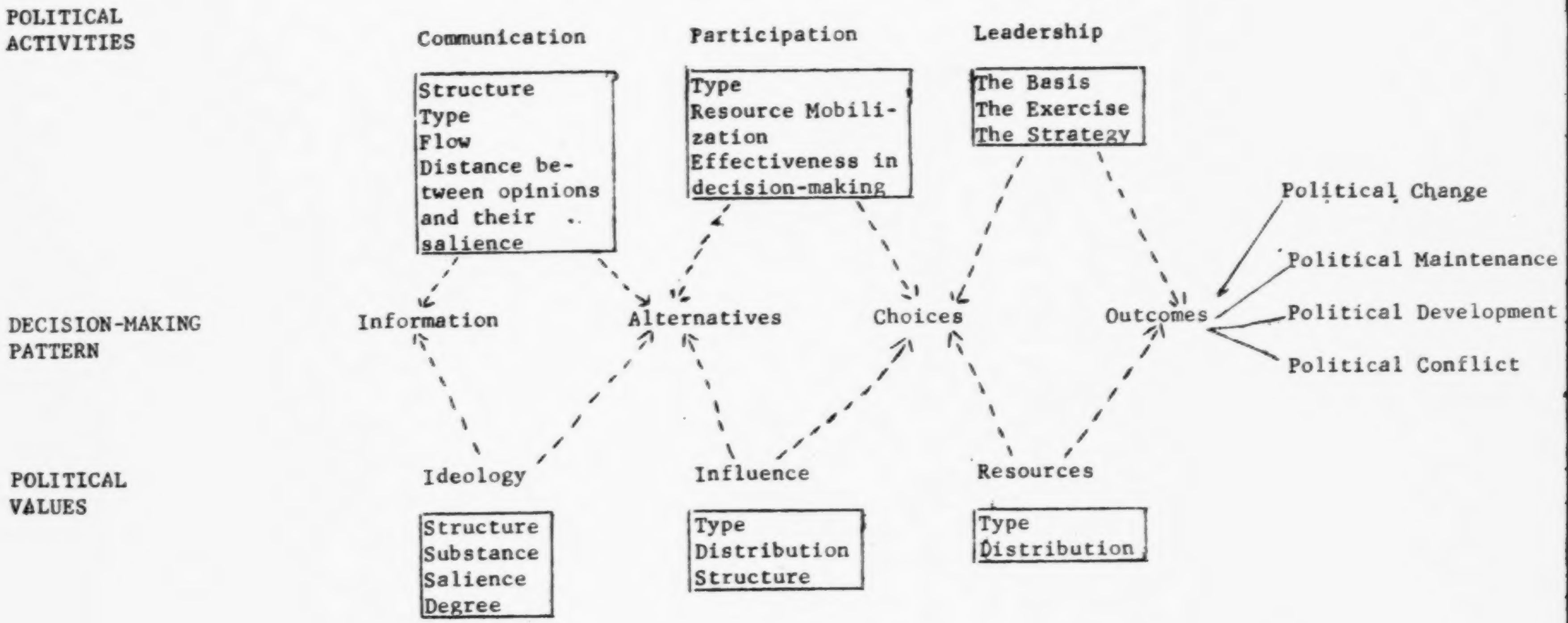
Let us take each of the implications in turn to demonstrate more specifically the major dimensions and potentials of the school laboratory experience. Combined with substantive materials of almost any type, the framework for the lab offers students concrete examples for studying the major aspects of political life. Students can act as participant observers in decision-making situations stretching from student council to school committee to school board meetings. Students can observe the leadership of the principal or the superintendent on school issues and compare and contrast leadership styles of different decision-makers from the football coach to the classroom teacher to the school board member. Students can observe and gather data on participation in school elections or peer group communication in the teacher's lounge or the student extra-curricular events. Thus the student can gain concrete knowledge of how these principles of politics work in an ongoing political system with clear comparisons and contrasts to political life at other local, state, or national levels of the system.

The school setting also provides a laboratory for the acquisition and utilization of many analytical skills. As has been noted before, the school laboratory is rich in potential for data collection and can thus be utilized effectively for teaching students principles of bringing evidence to bear on the statements that they make about political life. Students learning, for example, that in most national elections many citizens do not vote could find parallels to support this statement in school student elections. These types of observations can be supplemented by work in making generalizations from political experience which link together, for example, information and decision rules in order to provide explanations of the policy process in schools. Students can make comparisons, then, between decision-making in school board meetings and in student council meetings. Thus the lab provides a setting for learning and applying a wide range of analytical skills including making generalizations and comparative analysis.

The potential for political participation on the part of students is also great. Students can conduct their elections, for example, utilizing models of one-party, two-party, or multi-party systems in order to determine participation patterns in different electoral systems as well as to put their knowledge of public opinion and participation to use. Students can conduct surveys which are reported in school newspapers and study the effects of different types of information in decision-making. Students can initiate the formulation of decision-making groups around particular school policy proposals and effectively participate in making decisions concerning their own political life. The list of activities in which students can undertake full participation in the political life of schools is long indeed.

Combining the types of activities suggested here and the categories developed out of the framework for viewing politics, a framework for the laboratory begins to take shape. The laboratory can be based on a model of school politics which falls naturally from our original framework for viewing politics as illustrated in Figure 3. Each section of the model can be utilized for the development of activities which stress content, skills and participation as indicated above. Ideally, students would learn about political activities and values as they influence the decision-process and couple this learning with activities demonstrating the import of each component in the study of political change, maintenance, development and conflict. The nature of these activities are specified in the next section.

FIGURE 3: A FRAMEWORK FOR VIEWING SCHOOL POLITICS


POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
Communication
Structure
Type
Flow
Distance between opinions and their salience
Participation
Type
Resource Mobilization
Effectiveness in decision-making
Leadership
The Basis
The Exercise
The Strategy
DECISION-MAKING PATTERN
Information
Alternatives
Choices
Outcomes
Political Change
Political Maintenance
Political Development
Political Conflict
POLITICAL VALUES
Ideology
Structure
Substance
Salience
Degree
Influence
Type
Distribution
Structure
Resources
Type
Distribution

PART II: LABORATORY ACTIVITIES

In Teaching as a Subversive Activity, Postman and Weingartner argue that good education is essentially a process of learning the art of "crap detection." In order to survive in a world where the biggest change is change itself, students have to learn to distinguish significant from irrelevant knowledge in terms of what will be useful for future worlds which we cannot adequately anticipate.[33] There is no doubt that a good deal of what is being taught in schools is, by these standards, irrelevant. Yet the problem is not by any means completely defined in these terms. When students are good crap detectors, what do they do with the knowledge that they determine useful? How do they build out of useful knowledge a better life in a changing world?

The problem of building a life-style is a very difficult one. In some ways, knowledge can be put to use much in the same way that driver education classes are often run. Students first learn about the rules and regulations of driving from a manual. They then learn key aspects of driving -- rules of the road, how to start the car, how to steer -- in a simulator. Finally, the student is put in an automobile and given experience in driving by the teacher. In a sense, this experience is a simple way of translating knowledge into action. The student soon learns that neither the history of the automobile industry nor his knowledge of engine parts will aid him in keeping the automobile on the road for only his knowledge of steering will do that. His experience allows him to develop that skill.

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[33] Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching as a Subversive Activity, New York: Delacorte Press, 1969.

Yet social and political life is far more complex than this example. There are certain features of learning to keep oneself on the road that are essentially different from manipulating an automobile. The first, and perhaps the most important, is that there is no one best way to steer a course through life. No matter how narrowly a person defines his life goals, he is always confronted with choices about which way to go about doing things. It is as if on every street corner, one had to decide not only which road to take, but on which side of the street to drive. The rules of the game of society are thus constantly changing and choice is a key element of learning.

In another sense, learning to put knowledge to use is an iterative process. Students may play a game one way and wish to play it better or differently a second time. In this way, knowledge is put to use more than once. Students learn from doing, and hense not only knowledge, but experience is a crucial factor. Thus a student may lead a group for the first time very differently than he would the second or the third time, even if the group conditions were the same and he had not increased the extent of his knowledge to include new bits of information. He has learned from doing. Learning from doing in itself, then, is as important as learning information.

It is the principle that learning and doing are mutually reinforcing activities for education that provides the basis for the laboratory. From this principle three major kinds of laboratory activities are outlined in this section: knowledge-building, skill-building, and participation experience. In the case of knowledge-building, the activities directly parallel the major outline developed in the framework for looking at school politics. Such knowledge-building, then, will constitute a set of participant observation activities through which students can come to understand in concrete terms political activities such as decision-making and political values such as influence or ideology. The skill-building activities can be coupled in several different ways with these knowledge-building ones, yet they will first be introduced independently. There are several different skills that will be emphasized here: conceptualization, generalization, data gathering, principles of evidence and inference. The participation activities are built out of the knowledge- and skill-building activities, yet again will be introduced independently.

Within this format, then, the laboratory activities can be utilized cumulatively or independently. The lab can form a coherent set of activities for a full year civics or government course or a single set of activities for a topic in a pre-existing course. The matching of activities with different types of schools, curriculum sequences, or school settings is discussed in the following part. This section will outline activities for each of the sections of the laboratory regardless of the particular curriculum or school setting.

Knowledge-Building Activities

Eight different types of activities characterize this section. They are drawn directly from the framework developed in Part I. Under each topic, different dimensions important to understanding the topic are explored. Seven of the activities include political decision-making, leadership, participation, communication, influence, resources and ideology. The eighth type of activity relates each of these variables to the common political experiences of political change, maintenance, development, and conflict. Not all activities have been designed for entire class projects; the list includes a mix of potential individual, small group, and class activities. Materials necessary for activities are outlined in Appendix A.

A. Political Decision-Making

Political decision-making has five important components: information, alternatives, choice, outcomes, and feedback. Each of the activities listed below are designed to give concrete knowledge to students desiring to learn first-hand about the process of political decision-making.

1. The Importance of Information in Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To determine the effects of different amounts and types of information on political decision-making.

Outline of Activity: Determine three different student organizations such as the F.T.A., Language Club, Newspaper staff, Math Club, or Student Government organizations, which meet the following criteria: (1) at least one student in the class is a member; (2) the organization's decision-makers meet on a weekly basis or more frequently; (3) the decision-rules by which issues are decided are the same (i.e., majority vote); and (4) the composition of the decision-making group is relatively the same (i.e., if one group has a major split on most policy issues, so should the others).

Decide on one issue which each of the groups will find important to make a policy decision about. The issue must have at least three possible alternative solutions. The issue itself may vary from group to group.

A student or group of students should then attend each group's meetings. One group will serve as a control group. The student(s) will introduce a policy issue and the group will discuss alternatives in its normal way, uninterrupted by inputs from the student observers. Student observers will keep notes on how alternatives are decided upon and the resolution of the decision on forms prepared for this purpose. They will attend meetings until the issue is resolved (should be no more than three meetings).

The second and third groups will serve as experimental groups. One group will serve to test the difference that information produced in support of a single alternative can make in a decision-process. Students will research one alternative presented in the group and bring as much information in support of that position to the meetings as possible. Students will take notes on the effects of the amount and type of information on decision-making. A second group of students will do the same in another group only in this case, different students will take two alternatives and do research, some on one alternative, some on another. They will then determine the effects on decision-making of information between the two alternatives and between these and less well-researched alternatives.

Students will then compare results of their observations in order to make generalizations about the influence of information on the decision process. This activity can be supplemented by activities on making generalizations in Section II and participation in decision-making in Section III if desired. The number of groups can also be expanded to make this a full class exercise. It can be used to supplement any part of a course concerned with decision-making on the organizational, state, or national level.

Number of Students: 3 - 30.

Time: 3 weeks (1 - 2 days per week of time out of class)

2. Groups Involved in Bringing Information Into Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To identify different types of groups involved in bringing information into political decision-making and to determine the differences that targets for information make in the translation of information into political decision-making.

Outline of Activity: Three different types of decision-makers are interviewed: 1) an individual responsible for making decisions, such as the principal or the editor of the school newspaper; 2) two members of the same group responsible for making decisions that effect a select group of people, such as any members of a club who are officers of that club; and 3) two members of the same group responsible for making decisions that effect a large number of people, such as a student council officer or a school board member. The two members of each of the second and third types of groups are selected by the criteria that: 1) they both participated in making decisions on at least two of the same issues before the groups, and 2) they held opposing positions on these two issues.

The interviews consist of questions directed to identifying the different types of groups which bring information to the decision-makers. Questions are asked about sources for information and the type of information that is brought by each source. In this way students should be able to identify the pressure, status, and specialist groups who are active in decision-making. Students also ask questions as to how the decision on the two issues chosen was resolved. They can then determine which of the two members "won" or "lost" on the decision. Students can then determine which individual would have the best target for information and how information was used by that target. They can also re-interview the one target who was successful in getting his policy passed to determine how he would have handled information given to him by additional sources.

In this way students should be able to analyze the interview material to determine the differences in information processing in individual and group decision-making, the types of information utilized in decisions, and the difference it can make for decisions according to which target is chosen for information. Forms are included in Appendix A.

Number of Students: 3 - 30.

Time: 1 - 2 days for 1 - 3 15-minute interviews per student

3. Ways of Selecting Alternatives in Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To identify and compare three different ways of developing alternatives for political decisions.

Outline of Activity: There are at least three different ways that alternatives are generated for political decisions. One way is to include every possible alternative from a wide range of sources. Another way is to use past precedent to select alternatives. In this way, alternatives only vary incrementally from the precedent. A third way is to use a value criterion to include and exclude all alternatives. In this way potential alternatives are ruled out if they do not satisfy the value criterion. In this activity, students are divided into three groups of at least five members each. The groups as a whole first choose one decision that they feel is very important to students in their school: such as dress codes, curriculum change, facilities construction, scheduling, or new grading systems. Students then divide into three groups.

The first group attempts to uncover every possible alternative position on the issue they have chosen. They run a column in the school newspaper soliciting alternatives and contact major school organizations to hold discussions of the issue and offer alternatives. When all possible alternatives have been collected, the group will conduct a poll through the newspaper to determine how students would vote on the list of alternatives. Students may want to do a survey and interview students who have not responded to the newspaper poll. Regardless of method, at least five times as many students should respond to the poll as there are alternatives listed. For example, if there are ten alternatives, at least 50 responses should be collected. The group will then tally the results to determine support for the various alternatives. They should determine how the decision would have been made under various types of rules: one-man rule, majority rule (there will be many possible majorities) or unanimity rule.

The second group will meet to decide how similar decisions on the issue selected have been handled in the past. They should be able to determine a set of precedents for decisions made on similar issues. They will then divise a set of alternatives which do not differ significantly from this precedent. Once the alternatives are set, they should poll the student body on exactly this set of alternatives. They should attempt to poll relatively the same people that the other groups are polling. In fact, they may desire to poll students in teams of three, asking each student to respond to the set of alternatives proposed by each group. This second group should then tally the results on the alternatives to determine which were most highly supported. Students then speculate about how decisions would have been made under different decision rules: one-man rule, majority rule, unanimity rule.

The third group will meet in order to determine a set of different values which are involved in the selection of alternatives. They will determine at least two values involved and group alternatives according to whether or not they are acceptable or unacceptable considering each value. They will then have at least two different sets of acceptable alternatives (some of the alternatives may overlap). They will then poll students. Each student polled should select one alternative as preferred within each set. The group should then meet to tally results and to determine which alternative in each set was most preferred by students. Group members should then speculate about how a decision would have been reached under different types of decision rules: one-man rule, majority rule, unanimity rule.

The three groups should then meet together to compare their findings. Questions should be explored such as: Were different alternatives selected by different groups as being preferable? What effect did the number or type of alternatives considered have on the selection of one that was most preferred? What possible effects does the selection of alternatives have on decision-making under different decision rules?

Number of Students: 15 or more.

Time: 2 weeks of time out of class, 2 in-class days.

4. Differences in Rules for Making Political Decisions

Purpose: To determine the operation of different rules for making decisions and their effect on outcomes of decisions in different contexts.

Outline of Activity: Define three issues for which solutions which are of equal importance in the school at this time. These issues must have the following characteristics: 1) It must make a relatively equal difference to students, faculty, administrators that the issue is resolved; 2) Most of these groups must have relatively equal information about the issue; 3) The issue must have at least two possible alternatives for solution; and 4) The class itself must not be unanimously in favor of any one of the issues. Use the school directory or another source to define a random sample of ten students, ten faculty members and ten administrators to be interviewed.

Make an interview sheet for each individual as included in Appendix A by first defining the issues in terms which can be voted upon. Then interview each individual selected by asking the following questions: 1) Would they support or oppose the issue?; 2) Can they rank the issues in order of importance?; 3) Would they trade their vote on any issue in order to get their first priority issue passed into policy?; and 4) If they could decide under which decision rule the issues would be decided, would they choose to delegate authority to a single person (indicate one on list), would they choose to make the decision a majority rule, or would they choose to have the entire group reach a consensus before each issue was decided? Try to get some indication of why individuals would favor one rule or another.

When the interviews have been completed, tally the support and opposition for each issue. Then decide how the issue would be resolved under each decision rule. If the administrators could decide the issues regardless of faculty or student positions, how would they be resolved? What if the faculty members could decide? The students? These conclusions demonstrate the typical consequences of dictatorship rule under conditions of differing opinions. What would happen if a majority of administrators, faculty, and students had to decide each issue? How many of the same people are involved in the majority on all three issues? This is an example of "minorities" rule. The essential point is that under majority rule there are shifting coalitions in which different people win on different issues. Finally, what would happen if these issues would be decided by unanimity rule? Determine from the data which issues people are willing to trade or bargain and whether an effective consensus could be built on any single issue. One of the costs of unanimity rule is that decisions rarely can be made. Is this a result of this study? Why or why not?

Once the study has been completed, students involved should report their findings to the class. The class should then decide which rule they would use as a group if they were to make decisions on the three issues. They should discuss why they would choose one rule over another. Then they should vote on the issue. Finally, they should discuss which rule would be best considering the differences of opinion in the class.

Number of Students: 15 or more.

Time: 3 days, 1 day of class time.

5. The Relationship Between Decision Outcomes and Effectiveness of Decisions

Purpose: To identify different ways in which feedback affects the implementation of political decisions.

Outline of Activity: There is a basic distinction between outcomes of the decision process. Some outcomes maintain a precedent which has been established, i.e., schools that spend a great deal of money hiring personnel continue to do so. Other outcomes deviate from established precedents, i.e., schools spend money on improved facilities which they have not tended to do in the past. Such changes in the outcomes of decisions tend to redistribute resources in the system; that is, some people get more of what they want, others do not.

In addition, there is a fundamental distinction between three types of feedback processes. One is the case in which decision-makers alter policies as a result of feedback from people outside the decision process. Another is the case in which decision-makers review their own policies -- take polls, observe changes -- and policies can be changed. A third way in which feedback affects decision-making is for both sources to be used: decision-makers initiate evaluations of policy success and non-decision-makers bring in information. In times of policy change, the effectiveness of carrying out the policy can easily depend on the nature of the feedback process.

In this activity four kinds of policy outcomes initiated by one group which makes decisions in the school are defined: 1) a policy that was successfully carried out and that supported past decisions; 2) a policy that was not successfully carried out, yet that supported past decisions; 3) a policy that was successfully carried out and that deviated strongly from past decisions; and 4) a policy that was not successfully carried out and that deviated strongly from past decisions. The policies and group chosen should have the following characteristics: 1) The policy should effect people external to the decision-makers themselves -- it should not merely be a procedural policy; 2) The group should have relatively the same amount of information and should use the same decision rules for making each policy decision; and 3) Students should be able to more or less specifically determine who was effected by the policies chosen.

Students should then divide as a group into four parts. Each group takes one type of decision and students interview two key policy makers about that decision. They should ask questions related to which groups were consulted before the policy was made, the kinds of evaluations the decision-makers themselves initiated regarding the policy, and which groups supported or opposed the policy after it was decided. They should ask the decision-makers which factors they felt were key to the success or failure of the policy. Students from each group should then interview the people that were affected by the policy decision. Students may ask merely whether these people supported or opposed the policy or in addition, try to determine whether or not they actually tried to influence the implementation of the policy.

Students should then analyze their data in an attempt to answer the following questions: 1) Was the nature of the feedback process different in each case? Which groups were involved in supporting or opposing the policy? Did the policy succeed or fail because of group support or opposition? 2) Can the success or failure of the policy be attributed to the degree of which it deviated from precedent? Did all the precedent-supporting policies succeed and all the change-supporting policies fail? Did success or failure of change-supporting policies relate more to internal decision-making factors or those external groups affected by the policy? 3) Did the policy produce change, maintain old norms, or produce conflict? In answering questions such as these, students can determine not only the effects of feedback in the decision process, but they can begin to think of the effects of decision-making on the fundamental political experiences of change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Number of Students: 8 or more.

Time: 2 - 3 days for 8 interviews and a poll.

6. The Effects of Political Decision-Making on Political Change, Maintenance, Development and Conflict in School Systems

Purpose: To identify different ways in which decision-making can effect the political system of the school.

Outline of Activity: Identify a decision-making group within the school system that has the following characteristics: 1) It has endured as a group (not necessarily with the same members or rules for choice) for at least ten years; 2) It has implemented at least two "historic" policies; that is a policy which has brought about fundamental changes in, for example, student participation in decisions about extra-curricular or curricular affairs, the curriculum itself, the facilities available for students or teachers, or teacher personnel; 3) People were at least initially divided over which policy alternatives should be implemented; and 4) There is either a written record of some kind (minutes, newspaper coverage) or at least two people who can recall the development of the group and the policies chosen.

Students decide on a group and two policies for study. They gather records and information concerning the group in a type of historical study. Three time periods will be of significance. Students should determine a period before the policies were brought up (the period for each policy need not coincide). This period is time T_0. Students should then determine the time period during which the policies were introduced and passed. This period is time T_1. Finally, students should determine the time period after the policy was passed. The time period should extend beyond the time when the policy was first implemented so that some measure of its effect can be determined. This period is time T_3. The time periods need not be equal, but they must be consecutive for each issue.

Students then gather data considering the following important points: the type of participants in the decision-making group during each time period, the rules for making decisions in each time period, the types of information which entered decision-making in each time period, any environmental changes such as an increase in students or a different set of pressure groups influencing decision-makers in each time period. Basically, the question the student should ask is what is the same and what is different about decision-making from one time period to the next?

When students have recorded information on the forms provided for each policy, they compare answers on the forms for each policy in order to answer the following questions: 1) What brought about the change in each case? Were the factors contributing to the change similar or different in each case? Why or why not?; 2) Did conflict enter into the decision-making process in each case? What did the conflict contribute to the decision? What brought about the conflict in the first place?; 3) How was the policy implemented after it was passed?; and 4) Did the policy influence the direction of other policies that were implemented at T_3? If so, this is a case of political development. What else changed as a result of implementing the policy? Through these questions, students should be able to draw conclusions about the contribution of decision-making to political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Number of Students: 2 or more.

Time: 1 week.

B. Political Leadership

Political leadership is essentially a reciprocal relationship between influential individuals and those they influence. Three important dimensions of this relationship are the basis or the resources available to leaders, the style of leadership which sets rules of behavior under which a leader acts, and the strategy of leadership. In each case, the dimensions effect decision-making and indirectly the more fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict. The following exercises are designed to demonstrate how these dimensions effect decision-making and political experiences in the school setting.

1. The Bases of Political Leadership

Purpose: To determine how individuals exercise leadership based on different resources and how followers are influenced by different appeals.

Outline of Activity: Students determine eight individuals to interview: 2 teachers; 2 coaches; 2 club leaders; and 2 vice-principals or counselors whose functions in the school is largely to enforce discipline. Each of these individuals are leaders. Students should then determine eight individuals who are "followers" in relation to these leaders: 4 students, two in each of the classes that the teachers teach; 4 team members, 2 on each of the teams that the coaches are involved with; 4 students, 2 in each of the clubs that the club leaders are selected from; and 4 students who have been in to see the vice-principals or counselors regarding discipline problems (the students can all remain anonymous).

Students interview each of the leaders asking them, through open-ended interviews, which of the following concepts describe the bases on which they exercise leadership: authority, personality, shared interests, or force. Students then interview each of the followers asking them on what basis they accept the leadership of the leaders as identified. Students ask each individual interviewed whether or not he would lead or accept leadership for any other basis than the ones they have suggested.

Students then analyze data to answer the following questions: 1) Are the bases under which leaders exercise leadership different from leader to leader? What are some of the conditions under which different leadership bases are formed? Are the size of the followership or the purpose of the organization to which both leaders and followers belong relevant variables for explaining differences in leadership? 2) In most cases, do the followers accept leadership on the same basis that it is exercised by leaders? Do they both reject the same types of leadership in most cases? Why or why not? Through these questions, students should be able to determine the nature of the reciprocal relationship between leaders and followers.

Number of students: 3 or more.

Time: 2 - 3 days of interviews out of class, 1 day in class.

2. The Exercise of Political Leadership

Purpose: To determine the differences between the direct and indirect exercise of political leadership and its effect on political decision-making.

Outline of Activity: Generally, the four bases of political leadership -- personality, force, authority, and shared interests--tend to produce four different leadership styles respectively -- charismatic, dictatorship, constitutional and advocacy of an interest. Yet there are also multiple types of indirect styles of leadership, two of which are bargaining and structuring of alternatives. Each of these leadership styles can have an important effect on decision-making.

The students divide into three groups. One group studies the effects of structuring of alternatives as one way of exercising leadership. A second group studies the effects of bargaining as a means of exercising leadership. The third group studies the effects of the direct exercise of leadership. The first obtains from respective departments in the school: 1) a copy of the girls' gym class activities schedule and a copy of the boys' gym class activities schedule; 2) a copy of the course outline for a social studies course taught by any teacher whose class the people in the group have taken; and 3) a copy of the agenda for the next meeting of either a faculty group of some kind or a school board meeting. The group then makes a list of the gym class activities available to girls and the activities available to boys. The group circulates a questionnaire to 25 freshman girls and 25 freshman boys attending gym classes. The qeustionnaire should ask each student to list any 10 activities they would most like to have in gym class, regardless of whether or not they have actually had them. Students should then tally the responses on their lists of activities, including those that are not listed at the end of the regular list. Students then makes a list of the subjects covered in the social studies course for which they have an outline. Students construct a questionnaire which asks people to list 10 subjects they would like to study in such a course. Students self-administer the questionnaire (fill out the answers themselves). They then tally the subjects or activities chosen and add the new suggestions to their list. Students then interview at least two faculty or school board members to determine what issues they feel are most important for the group or board to discuss at its next meeting. Students tally these results as before. Students should then be able to determine how leaders, in this case teachers, structure alternatives for students. They should take note of differences in original lists and additions to lists as well as the support for activities given by students.

Students in the second group focus on the study of bargaining in the exercise of political leadership. An interview with the principal is the focus of this activity. Students first construct interview questions which generally follow this outline: 1) asking the principal to determine a set of at least three important decisions he has recently made with effect teachers and students in the school; 2) encouraging the principal to determine which groups he contacted in making the decisions; 3) asking the principal to indicate how his position changed over the course of the decision and which groups, if any, influenced that change; 4) inquiring as to the costs and benefits for the principal and the other groups involved; and 5) asking the principal to indicate the major beneficiaries of the decision. The students should then be able to determine for each decision how many groups were involved in making the decision, what types of bargains were made, and how the final decision changed as a result of the bargaining process.

Students in the third group focus on the study of direct leadership behavior. While most leaders in the school setting use some combination of styles in directing a followership, teachers normally use the full range of possible means of exercising leadership. They use personality as a base for counseling or encouraging students in class. They use force as a base for expelling students from class or stimulating performance of students (tests). Most often, teachers use their authority as a base for making assignments and enforcing school rules. Usually in other then classroom contexts, teachers also become advocates of their own interests or the interests of student groups by striking for higher salaries or advising clubs or sports activities.

The third group then defines five teachers to interview who meet the following criteria: 1) they have taught in the school for two years prior to this one; 2) they have either advised student clubs or sponsored or coached girls' or boys' sports activities; and 3) they teach regular academic subjects such as history or math. The group then develops an interview schedule which stresses the following points: under which circumstances teachers tend to exercise leadership in the four different ways; whether they exercise leadership differently in different groups such as student groups, teacher peer groups, or meetings with administrators; instances in which they consider their leadership to have been effective or ineffective. Interviews are then compared in order to determine whether there are common ways of exercising leadership among the five teachers.

Each group then analyzes the data that has been gathered in order to determine answers to the following questions: 1) How have the different bases for leadership been utilized by each set of leaders?; 2) Has the leadership been effective; that is, do followers accept the activities or decisions of the leaders? Why or why not?; 3) Under what conditions has leadership been most effective?; and 4) How has leadership effected the choices made in decisions? Groups will then meet to compare findings acorss the three ways of exercising leadership. In this way, students should be able to identify different forms of leadership exercise and their effects.

Number of Students: 15 or more.

Time: 1 week of interviewing and data collection, 1 class day of discussion.

3. Political Leadership Strategies

Purpose: To identify patterns of leadership in school politics over a series of choices.

Outline of Activity: Identify a decision-maker such as the superintendent, a school board member, the principal, or a student council member who has participated in at least three major decisions in the school within the last one - five years. Construct an interview schedule as in Appendix A which asks the following questions: 1) What are three important decisions in which you have participated in the last five years?; 2) What were three key alternatives considered in each decision?; 3) Which groups or leaders of groups participated in the policy choices? What were the goals of each leader?; 4) Which groups or leaders supported which alternatives?; 5) Did the same leaders initially support the policy alternative that was finally chosen each time?; and 6) Did leaders use different resources or methods to influence others to support the policy alternative that they favored? Which methods were successful and which were unsuccessful?

A chart is then made in which the three policy decisions head the columns and the rows are divided into the headings of leaders involved, resources and methods used, the alternatives and support for each, and leaders supporting the winning policy alternative. Students should then be able to answer the following questions about leadership strategies: 1) How do goals effect the positions that leaders take? Are they willing to give up positions on some issues in order to win on issues that are important to their overall goals?; 2) Do some decisions get decided before others because leaders exert influence to make their issues top priority?; 3) What types of resources are used by leaders in different leadership strategies?; and 4) How does the unsuccessful exercise of leadership effect future leadership strategies? By answering these questions, students should be able to identify different possible types of leadership strategies and evaluate their effectiveness in decision-making.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 2 days.

4. The Effect of Political Leadership on Choice

Purpose: To identify one key way in which political leadership effects political decision-making -- the effect of leadership on choices between alternatives.

Outline of Activity: Identify two issues which are now being decided by the school board in your district. Identify seven or eight key leaders in the decision by interviewing a school board member and asking him the following questions: 1) Who sets the agenda which includes discussion of these two issues?; 2) Which groups or individuals are in conflict over each issue?; and 3) Who are the leaders that are most involved in making decisions about these issues (both formally and informally)? From the Group of individuals that the school board member lists choose a group to interview with the following characteristics: 1) the superintendent; 2) the individual who sets the agenda if he is different from the superintendent; 3) two decision-makers such as school board members, city officials, or leaders of parent or community groups, who are in conflict over the issue (four people in all); and 4) two individuals who have been recognized leaders on both of these issues. Determine the relevant alternatives being discussed on each issue from newspaper coverage and research into the records of school board meetings.

Interview each of the individuals selected utilizing a different interview schedule for each category of leader chosen. Ask the superintendent or another individual responsible for setting the agenda the following types of questions: 1) Why were each of the issues brought to the school board at this time?; 2) Which groups were involved in initiating discussion of the issue?; 3) Which of the alternatives before the board do you prefer? Why?; 4) How do you intend to obtain support from the major groups involved in decision-making?; and 5) What are the consequences of each alternative if it becomes policy? Ask each of the four decision-makers who are in conflict over the issues the following set of questions: 1) Which of the alternatives before the board do you prefer? Is there an alternative which has not been presented to the board that you prefer more? Why? If so, why is this alternative not being considered?; 2) How do you intend to gain support for your position from other members of the school board?; 3) What kinds of compromises do you think are feasible? 4) What are you willing to bargain in order to gain support for your position?; 5) What are the consequences of the different alternatives if each becomes policy? Ask the two leaders who have been actively involved in both decisions the following types of questions: 1) Which of the alternatives in each decision do you prefer? Is there one alternative which has not been presented to the board which you prefer more for either issue? Why? If so, why is this alternative not being considered? 2) Compare each of the issues before the board. How has your leadership strategy been the same or different for each issue? What groups or individuals have you tried to influence on each issue? 3) Is one issue more important to you than the other? If so, has your leadership strategy been different for each issue? 4) What are the consequences of the different alternatives on each issue if each were to become policy?

Collect your data from each interview. Attempt to determine from the answers to the questions below from the data: 1) What are the different effects of direct and indirect types of leadership exercise? How does control of the agenda effect choices? How does bargaining effect choices? How do different direct leadership strategies -- using personality, status, force, interest group benefits -- effect choices?; 2) How would the outcomes of the decision be different depending on the influence of various leaders?; 3) Does change or conflict depend at all on the positions and strategies of leaders? Does an innovative alternative have to be supported by powerful leaders in order to become a policy?; 4) In general, what are the consequences for the school system if different alternatives become policy? Who benefits the most? What kinds of changes will result if one alternative is adopted rather than another?; and 5) Can you predict how the decision will be made on each issue? What factors are important in producing one decision rather than another? Through these questions, students should be able to determine some of the effects of leadership on decision-making and on the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development, and conflict.

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 1 week.

C. Political Participation

Political participation takes a wide variety of forms in school settings. The type of participation in which various members of the school community engage can have a critical effect on the school system. The decision to participate is critical to this effect, for it is through the particular choices that individuals make about participation that group efforts become structured and activities are either successful or unsuccessful. The purpose of these activities is to determine the types of political participation found in the school setting, the structure of participation across groups, the incentives for participation, and the effects of participation on decision-making, on leadership, and on the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance development and conflict.

1. Types of Political Participation in Schools

Purpose: To identify various types of political participation by students in school politics.

Outline of Activity: Identify the last all-school election of student council, court or other student representatives. Determine a sample of students each of which has the following characteristics: 1) at least two students did not participate in any way in the election by talking with other students or voting. These individuals are "passives"; 2) at least two students talked with other students or candidates about the election yet did not vote. These individuals are "opinion distributers"; 3) at least two students voted in the election; 4) at least two individuals actively supported candidates without becoming actual members of the campaign staff or other forms of organized support; 5) at least two groups of individuals which, though initially organized for other purposes such as club activity, supported candidates in the election; 6) at least two members of the campaign staff of the candidates; and 7) at least two of the candidates themselves.

After the sample has been determined, an interview schedule is developed which focuses on the following questions: 1) Did you participate in the last student council elections by talking with friends, voting or actually campaigning for candidates? Why or why not?; 2) In what different ways did you participate?; 3) What different resources -- time, votes, promises -- did you use in order to make your participation effective?; 4) How do you feel your participation benefited you as an individual or benefited students in general? The "passives" need only be asked the first question. The candidates should be asked the additional question of the various techniques and strategies they used in order to gain support.

After completing the interviews, students should be able to answer the following questions about political participation: 1) Do people tend to use more political resources as they participate more in school politics?; 2) Why do some people tend to participate more than others?; 3) Do the different types of participation suggest different effective ways in which politics can be carried out? For example, would it really be more effective if everyone actually participated through the campaign organization? What function do passives and information or opinion distributers serve in political activity? Through these questions, students should be able to indicate types of political participation and several ways in which these types effect political experiences.

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 1 week of interviews.

2. The Decision to Participate

Purpose: To determine different incentives for deciding to participate in organized political activity.

Outline of Activity: Determine a school club or other small organization which is an easily accessible unit for study. The organization should have the following characteristics: 1) it has existed as an organization for at least five years; 2) its membership is relatively consistent over the period of a year (it does not dwindle to five members and then increase to twenty); 3) it meets on a regular basis at least weekly or bi-weekly; 4) it maintains a set of elected officers and a regular membership; 5) at least three students involved in the study are regular club members; and 6) the club performs some service function in the school. Next decide the possible membership that the club could have if it included all members who had interests in its purpose. Determine from the past experience of the club members who are undertaking the study, a sample of participants structured as follows: 2 individuals who are part of the potential membership of the club but are not members; 2 individuals who are part of the potential membership of the club but who have more or less made conscious choices not to become club members, or 2 individuals who have quit the club; 2 individuals who are regular members of the club but not club officers; and 2 individuals who are officers in the club.

When the club is chosen and the sample is drawn, an interview schedule is contructed for each type of participant. The individuals who are non-members of the club and those who have decided not to join or to quit the club are asked the following set of questions about the incentive to participate: 1) Do you think you would be interested in joining the club? Why or why not?; 2) What benefits do you think you would get from being a club member?; 3) What costs do you think you would have in becoming a club member -- having to go to meetings, time away from other activities or studies?; 4) Do you feel it would cost you more than you would get in benefits by joining the club? Do you get the benefits without joining? The regular members of the club are asked the following sets of questions: 1) Why did you join the club?; 2) When you joined, what benefits did you think you would get from joining? Are these benefits different from the ones you are now actually receiving as a club member?; 3) When you joined, what costs did you think you would have from joining -- frustration about decisions or time away from other activities? Are these costs different from the ones you now actually have as a club member?; 4) Would you get the benefits you have cited without being a club member? Would you join the club if you could get the benefits without joining? Finally, the officers of the club are asked the same questions as the regular members plus the following: 1) Why did you become an officer of the club?; 2) Are the benefits you receive from being an officer greater than those of being a regular member?; and 3) What kinds of costs do you find you have as an officer that you did not have as a regular member? Each person in the sample should be individually interviewed.

Students then make two lists, one of benefits and one of costs of participation. Each list should be divided into sections according to the four types of members responding. They should then analyze their data with regard to the following set of general questions: 1) What are the benefits or incentives to participate?; 2) What are the costs of participation?; 3) Do people make decisions to participate only when benefits are greater than costs? Why or why not?; 4) Do some people gain more benefits than others from participation compared to their costs? Do some people, especially officers, bear more of the costs for fewer benefits? Do they do this because their participation is the only way to get any benefits at all?; and 5) Would anyone participate in the club if they could get the benefits without participating? Why or why not? Through answers to questions students should learn the basic incentives for making decisions about whether or not to participate in organized political activity.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 2 - 3 days of interviews.

3. The Structure of Political Participation in School Politics

Purpose: To determine how different distributions of types of participants effect political decision-making.

Outline of Activity: Construct a short experimental situation. First, define three issues that are important to students in the school at this time. These issues should not be abstract political policies, but concrete school political issues which directly effect most students. Determine two alternatives for one of the issues. Label the issue as #1 and the alternatives as #1.1 and #1.2. Then determine three alternatives for another issue. Label this issue as #2 and the alternatives as #2.1, #2.2, and #2.3. Finally, determine three alternatives for the third issue. Label this issue as #3 and the alternatives as #3.1, #3.2, and #3.3.

Now, define the participants in the experiment. There are nine in all. Find three students who are willing to participate in a 1-hour experiment and who support alternatives #1.1, #2.1, and #3.1. All three students should agree on the same alternative for each issue. Record their names on the correct lines on the form provided in Appendix A. These students are group A. Then, find two students who agree with alternatives #1.2, #2.2, and #3.2. Record their names on the form. These students are group B. Finally, find four students with the following characteristics: 1) they all support alternative #1.1; 2) they all support alternative #2.3; and 3) three of them support alternative #3.3, and one of them supports alternative #3.2. Record their names on the form. These students are group C.

Find a place and a time when all of the nine students can meet. When all participants are present, explain that the purpose of the experiment is for the students to make decisions on the three issues by holding a hard line to the position they have told you that they take on each issue. First, ask for a vote on the issues from groups A and B. Write the winning positions on each issue on a form provided in Appendix A. Then ask all of the students to vote on the first issue.

Write the winning position on the form. Ask the group to discuss the differences and similarities in the effects of participation in the first and second votes on the issue. Then move to the second issue and ask the total group for a vote. Write the winning position on that issue on the form. Ask the group to discuss the differences and similarities in the effects of participation in the first and second votes on the issue. Then compare the votes on the first and second issues. How did the additional participation of Group C in each vote effect the outcome of the decision differently? Finally, move to the third issue and ask the total group for a vote. Is there a winning position? Ask the group to discuss the differences and similarities in the effects of participation in the first and second votes on this issue. Then compare the votes on the first, second and third issues. How did the additional participation in each vote effect the outcomes of the decision differently?

Analyze your observations by answering the following questions from the experimental situation and the date on the form: 1) What are three different ways that participation can effect the choices that are made in the decision-making process?; 2) Did the increase in participation ever increase the number of alternatives for choice in the decisions?; and 3) Would decisions have been different if certain individuals had chosen to be apathetic? What are the possible effects of a "silent" majority or minority in decision-making? With what different effects on decision outcomes? Through answering these questions students should learn how the structure of participation can affect decision-making.

Number of students: 1 or more.

Time: 1 day of experimental work out of class.

4. The Effects of Political Participation on Political Change, Maintenance, Development and Conflict

Purpose: To determine the effects of increases in the amount and type of political participation on school political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Outline of Activity: Determine two different political situations in the recent history of the school. One situation should focus on the time that the last superintendent left the school system and the present superintendent arrived. The second situation should include either the last time when at least one-third of the school board members were newly-elected or the greatest change in membership in the board in the last twenty years. Either through school records or newspaper files, make two lists, one of the policies passed by the school board under the last superintendent and one of those passed under the new superintendent. Carefully divide the policies on each list into two categories: those that you think are very similar to each other under both superintendents and those that are very different. Do the same type of analysis for the second situation by making a list of the policies passed before the change of membership on the school board and after the change of membership. Again, group those policies that are similar and those that are different. Make sure that the time periods of the two situations do not overlap; that is, the school board membership was relatively the same when the superintendent changed and the superintendent was the same when the school board membership changed.

Determine an interview schedule for the new superintendent in the first situation and two of the school board members who were part of the new membership group in the second situation. If none of these school board members are available, find another regular member of the board or someone on the local newspaper staff who was involved in board activities at the time. The focus of the interview is the determination of what factors influenced the maintenance of similar policies and the changes to different policies. Ask the superintendent the following types of questions: 1) What major policies which the former superintendent initiated have your maintained after you took office? Why?; 2) What major policy changes have been initiated under your administration?; 3) Did you initiate any of these policies or did they come from board members or other sources? (Have the superintendent respond to each of the policies that you have found to be different and ask who initiated them); 4) Have any of these policies produced conflict in the school community over goals or benefits?; and 5) Can you indicate some of the directions which you think the school is moving which are different from those in the past?

Then, interview the school board members and ask the following types of questions: 1) When you first became a member of the school board, who else was a new member?; 2) Did you agree with most of the new members on the policy questions which later faced the board? Name some of the key policy questions on which the new members agreed and disagreed; 3) Did any of the new members initiate policies or bring alternatives into the discussion of policies that otherwise would not have been suggested by the superintendent or the other board members? Which ones? (Name the policies that you have determined are different from the previous period and ask the board member if any of these policies were initiated by new members); and 4) Do you think that the board moved in new policy directions because of the new members? Was there conflict among board members or people outside the board over new policies?

Taking into consideration both the interview material and your initial analysis of the records, answer the following questions from your data: 1) What are two ways in which participation can effect political change? How is participation related to leadership in each of these ways?; 2) Was the new superintendent able to maintain some policies and change others? Why or why not? Did the school board block the superintendent in any way?; 3) Were the new school board members able to swing opinion to a majority for their policies in any cases? Why or why not?; and 4) Did the school system itself undergo conflict or develop in new directions as a result of the participation of the new superintendent or the new board members? Why or why not? Through these questions, students should be able to determine how participation can effect decisions as well as the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development, and conflict.

Number of Students: 2 or more.

Time: 1 week of research and interviews.

D. Political Communication

If the school principal makes an announcement over the loudspeaker system it is political communication. If the students advertise or editorialize about school activities it is also political communication. Political communication is defined as such when what is communicated influences how most people in the school system behave. Since information must be communicated in order to be useful for guiding activity, the structure of the communication system becomes important. In this sense, "who knows" determines "who acts". In addition to structure, the type and flow of communication and the differences in opinions between actors in the school system are also important aspects of political communication. The activities which follow are designed to explore these aspects of political communication and to determine some of the effects of communication on political decision-making, leadership, participation and the political experiences of change, maintenance, development and conflict.

1. The Structure of Political Communication

Purpose: To identify differences and similarities in what people know about school politics through the major media of political communication.

Outline of Activity: Excluding personal conversations, students in general learn about school politics from two sources: the school newspaper and the announcements made in homeroom and/or over the loudspeaker. Teachers may learn from these sources, but also have access to bulletins from the principal, the department chairman, or other teachers. Principals provide many of these information sources themselves, but also have communications from the superintendent and other principals. Excluding face-to-face interactions or community-wide news, then, the main channels of communication are through the student newspaper, announcements of various sorts, and bulletins to teachers or to principals.

To begin the activity go to the student newspaper office and find the set of newspapers dating over the period of the last two months. Randomly select ten issues of the newspaper if the total number exceeds this amount. A random selection can be made by counting the total number of issues of the newspaper, dividing by ten, and then selecting each issue in intervals according to the result. For example, dividing ten into sixty, the result is six. Every sixth issue would then be selected. Then go to the administrative offices and ask for their files of announcements and bulletins to students and teachers. Select randomly ten announcements and ten bulletins in the same way you selected the newspapers. Finally, ask the principal for access to his files on communications relating to the school from the superintendent. Again, make a random selection of ten documents. If this is not possible, interview the principal and ask him what ten important events or decisions he has made in the last two months which effect people in the school.

Create three separate lists of major events or decisions which are discussed in each set of documents. The event or decision is major if it effects most people in the school. Include only the ten most important items, if there are that many. Record these events on a form such as the one in Appendix A. Then select a sample of ten students, five teachers, five department chairmen, five administrators and the principal. Ask each individual of which of these events they are aware. Ask them a few questions about each decision or event to be sure they know something about it. Also ask them where they found out about the issue or event. Record their answers on the form.

Use the data that you have collected to answer the following questions about the structure of political communication: 1) Do students know about most of the issues and events in the school? Do they not know about the issues discussed by other school actors such as principals or teachers? How do they find out most of their information about school politics?; 2) Do teachers know about most issues and events in the school? Do they know more than students? More than department chairmen? How do they find out most of their information about school politics?; 3) Do administrators know about most issues and events in the school? Do they know more than students or teachers?; and 4) Which groups share common knowledge and which information do only certain groups have? If all issues and events were common knowledge, what difference do you think it would make in school politics? Through answers to these questions, students should understand the structure of political communication in the school and should be able to speculate about possible effects on school politics.

Number of Students: 6 or more.

Time: 1 week of research and interviewing.

2. Types and Flow of Political Communication

Purpose: To determine the effectiveness of different types of political communication and the rates at which information flows through the school political system.

Outline of Activity: Think of four types of activities, such as assemblies relating to "hot" political topics or student performances, that most students in your school would be interested in attending. These activities must be realistic, and you must be able to plan and execute them. Otherwise, determine four activities which are already being planned by some group, but which have not yet been answered. Either way, the activities must be taking place from 2-3 weeks after you begin this activity. When the activities have been defined, design an announcement, a newspaper ad, and bulletins which stress identical information about each activity: time, place, content of the activity, a pitch for students to come. Then define a random sample of students, ten in number.

Begin the following steps. Define a time period of three days when you know your school newspaper will be published. The best day to begin is a Monday. On the agreed upon Monday, begin to talk to the ten students in the sample about one of the activities. Each student must be casually informed about the same one activity. Do not talk with any other students unless they talk to you first about the activity. On the same day, have the principal or another student announce a second activity. This announcement should be made again on Wednesday. Again, do not talk to students about this activity unless they bring it up. Whenever the newspaper is scheduled to come out, have an ad printed about a third activity in the normal way the newspaper carries such items.

Have the item reprinted any time the newspaper comes out that week. For the fourth activity, make posters, special announcements, or hand-outs for advertisements. Keep this kind of 4-way communication going through Wednesday. Do not mix the lines of communication yourselves. On Thursday begin a poll which includes the students in your original sample and as many others as possible. Ask each student two questions: 1) What are the major activities going on in school in the next three weeks? (Check any of the four activities if they mention them on a form such as the one in Appendix A); and 2) How did you find out about the activities? (Record the source for each activity they mention of the four). Finish the poll by Friday.

Use the data that you have collected from the poll to answer the following questions: 1) What are four major ways in which communication can be transmitted through the system?; 2) Which is the most effective for students? How many students knew about each activity? Why?; 3) When did different students find out about each activity? What is the fastest form of communication in the school?; and 4) Did most students know about all four activities? Of those that didn't, did they respond that so much was going on that they couldn't keep them all straight? If so, this is an instance of communication overflow. What effect does communication overflow have? Through these questions, students should be able to determine the effectiveness of various types of communication and the flow of information in the school system. Be sure to report the findings of the study through the most effective communication channel.

Number of Students: 5 or more.

Time: 1 week.

3. The Effect of Differences of Opinion in Communication

Purpose: To determine the effect of differences of opinion in various types of communication networks.

Outline of Activity: Construct an experimental situation. Define two issues that are important to students in your school at this time. Define two groups of six students each who are willing to participate in a one-hour experiment and who have the following characteristics: 1) six of the students disagree strongly with each other on both issues; three students want to do one thing, three another on both issues. There must not be a majority in favor or against the issues in this group; and 2) six of the students do not exactly agree on either of the issues, but also do not disagree strongly.

Find a time and place where you can meet with all twelve students. When the students meet, divide them into the two groups of six each according to whether they disagree strongly or only mildly. You should have already determined who would be in each group. Tell the students that the purpose of the session is to see whether or not they can come to an agreement on one of the issues. The second issue is not discussed at this time. When each group reaches some kind of decision, they should record it and sign their names. Majority rule will carry the decision (4-2). When they are finished, they should turn in the decision with the votes recorded to you. When either a half hour has passed or both groups have reached some decision, they should discuss and compare the ways in which decisions were reached. You may want to tape-record this discussion. Then have each group, with only five minutes discussion, vote on the second issue either pro or con as you state it. Again, they should have tried to make some decision in the time alloted. Record these votes as before. The groups should again discuss and compare the ways in which decisions were reached.

After the data has been collected, answer the following questions about political communication: 1) What effect do differences of opinion have on the ability for groups to make decisions?; 2) Does being able to talk for longer periods of time more freely have any effect on decision-making?; 3) How are decision outcomes different when there is communication and when there is not?; and 4) What factors are important in resolving differences of opinion?

Number of students: 1 or more.

Time: 2 days.

4. The Effect of Political Communication on Political Decision-Making in School Politics

Purpose: To determine how the structure of political communication effects feedback and information gathering in school political decision-making.

Outline of Activity: Identify two of the most recent school bond issues that have the following characteristics: 1) one of the bond issues has failed to pass because of lack of community support; 2) one of the bond issues has passed because of approval by a vote of the community; and 3) neither of the issues came for a vote at exactly the same time in the community. You may want to consult the local newspaper files or talk with a school board member to identify these issues.

Construct an interview schedule for the following persons: 1) the superintendent or the individual who was superintendent during the period when each of the issues was being considered; 2) one or two school board members who were present when the issues were being considered; 3) the newspaper editor or a member of the staff who was reporting on school board meetings and bond issues at the time they were being considered. Interview each of these individuals. Ask the superintendent the following types of questions: 1) Why do you think that one of the bond issues passed while the other failed?; 2) What about the communication structure between the school board and the community was similar in each case? What was different?; 3) In either case, did the board itself directly attempt to get information about how they felt about the bond issue before it was brought to a vote in the community? Did the board attempt to get such information before the board itself made the decision to call for a vote?; 4) On any other bond issue did the board attempted to gain information from the community before it made its decision? Did the bond issue pass or fail?; 5) Do you think it makes a difference on any type of decision that the board makes that the community is consulted before the decision? Does it make a difference after the decision is made?; and 6) Does such communication make a difference in the amount of conflict in the community over decisions made by the board? What about the degree to which the community both within and without the school can adapt to the changes that the decision brings?

After you have interviewed the superintendent, ask the one or two school board members and the newspaper editor similar questions. Then get the newspaper editor to help in making an analysis of your own. Identify significant articles on both bond issues before and after each issue was passed or rejected. Attempt to determine the following things: 1) Who supported and who opposed each issue on the board, in the school, and in the community itself?; 2) How did the passage or failure of each issue affect the school community both within and without the school?; and 3) How was communication between board members and people outside the decision-making circle different in each case?

Then, analyze the data and the interviews you have collected in order to answer the following questions about the relationship between political communication and decision-making: 1) What were the major different ways in which communication was made between the board and the community within and without the school in each case?; 2) Did it make a difference in any of the cases that were mentioned whether or not the board attempted to get feedback from the community before or after the decision had been reached to push a bond issue? Did conflict increase as a result of communication or lack of communication?; and 3) What major effects did the bond issue passage or failure have on the school system itself? Did anything change? Why or why not? Through answers to these questions, students should be able to determine the effects of political communication on decision-making and the political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Number of Students: 6 or more.

Time: 1 week of interviews and research.

5. The Effects of Political Communication on Political Leadership and Participation

Purpose: To identify at least one fundamental relationship between political communication, leadership and participation in the recruitment process in school organizations.

Outline of Activity: Determine some activity within your school in which members are now being recruited, i.e., the newspaper staff needs more people, the school play or variety show needs more members, a club wants to increase its membership. See if you can convince the individuals who are making decision to try an experiment about political communication with you. Select one of the positions that people desire to fill with student members. On the first position, have the decision-makers make a list of people they know who would be good candidates for that position. Then have them decide on three possible candidates from their list. Now, open the recruitment process by using every possible channel of communication to recruit candidates for the position. Be sure to have a deadline set within a week for applications. Now, make a list of the three best candidates from this process.

Have the decision-makers compare the two lists of candidates. Have them rank the six candidates according to which they think would be best for the position. Then, take the list and use your experiences to answer the following questions: 1) What effect did the two different methods of communication have on the type of candidate that would be selected? Did the list of three candidates chosen through mass communication means differ in any important ways from those candidates originally chosen by the decision-makers?; 2) Was the decision itself different because of the mass communication process? (Did any of the three candidates chosen by mass communication outrank the original people selected?); and 3) How would each of the individuals contribute different leadership to the group they would join? Through answers to these questions, students should learn how communication effects decision-making, participation and leadership through the recruitment process in school politics.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 1 week.

E. Political Influence

The concept of political influence almost invariably brings to mind images of "boss" politics in cities and pressure groups attempting to persuade nationally-elected Congressmen. Yet influence is actually much more than such overt actions, for it is built into the fabric of every political system. School systems are no exception. In schools, certain individuals definitely have the capacity to move other individuals to do things that they otherwise would not do. This capacity is valued in the school system among people both in decision-making positions such as the superintendent as well as those not formally included in decisions such as teachers and students.

Influence has several important features. The type of influence a person possesses can determine whether or not others will accept his leadership in certain situations. The distribution of influence effects how much an individual has to bargain with others in order to get his way. The structure of influence sets limits on the kind of behavior that is permissable within different types of political systems. All of these dimensions of political influence effect how decisions are made in the system. The purpose of the following activities is to explore these dimensions of influence and to demonstrate how influence can effect decision-making and the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

1. Types of Political Influence

Purpose: To determine differences between formal and informal influence of various types -- force, authority, status, wealth, personality -- in school politics.

Outline of Activity: Obtain from the principal's office an organization chart of the roles that various people play within the school -- superintendent, principal, teachers, etc. Study this chart so that you know the basic lines of authority which it indicates. Then construct an interview with the principal and ask him the following types of questions: 1) What have been the three most important decisions that you have recently made which effect the school as a whole?; 2) Who have you consulted most frequently in making these decisions? Administrators? Department chairmen? Teachers? Students?; 3) Who do you feel you have the most influence over in making decisions about the school system? On what basis do you exercise your influence over them -- force, authority, status, wealth, personality?; and 4) Do you use different types of influence with different groups in the school setting? What type of influence do you use with parents? Students? Teachers? Administrators? Community influentials?

From the formal organization chart and the responses that the principal has made during the interview, attempt to answer the following questions about political influence: 1) Are there any differences between the formal influence relationships indicated in the organization chart and the types of individuals who influence the principal's decisions? Does all influence actually flow from the principal down to teachers and students, or do different groups have some influence on the decisions that the principal makes?; 2) Does the principal use more than one type of influence? How does he try to influence parents? Students? Teachers? Department heads? Other administrators? Community influentials?; and 3) On what basis do you think students would be most successful in influencing the principal? From these questions, students should be able to identify the differences between formal and informal influence as well as the various types of influence which are exercised.

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 2 days.

2. The Distribution of Political Influence in the School System

Purpose: To identify how different types of influence are distributed in the school system and some of the consequences for political decision-making.

Outline of Activity: Undertake a survey of different groups in the school system. First, select a sample of individuals with the following characteristics: 1) the superintendent; 2) three school board members who have voted differently and/or have been elected from very different constituencies to the board; 3) the principal; 4) three administrators who have major responsibility for school discipline, curriculum, and counseling; 4) three department heads including 1 coach, 1 person in charge of a school activity such as plays or an advisor to a student organization, and 1 person who is strictly a department head and is not involved in other responsibilities; 5) three teachers from various types of courses; 6) ten students from different classes and sexes; 7) five community members, 1 of which is actively involved in P.T.A. (preferably an officer), one of which is a member of a local business and on the town council in the community, and three of which are parents who have children in your school.

When the sample has been defined, then record the names or positions of the individuals on a form such as the one in Appendix A. Construct an interview schedule such as the one demonstrated on the form which asks the following questions: 1) Who do you talk with most about what is going on in the school? (Teachers, students, etc.); 2) What three people influence your opinion most about school politics?; 3) What types of influence do you think you could use in school politics in your present position? (Force, authority, status, wealth, personality?) Do you use different types of influence with different people?; 4) What would be the most effective ways of exerting your influence in school politics?; and 5) What effect do you think you could have on decisions about the school? How would decisions be different as a result of your participation? How would they remain the same?

After the interviewing has been completed, construct a "sociogram" of influence relationships. A sociogram is made by first putting each person's name or position on a piece of paper. Then lines are drawn between people who say they consult each other about school politics. For example, if the superintendent mentions the principal, then a line is drawn between his position and the principal's as follows: superintendent ⟶ principal. The arrow means that the superintendent mentioned the principal. If the principal also mentioned the superintendent, then the line would be drawn as follows: superintendent ⇄ principal. When the diagram is complete, it indicates the major influence relationships which exist in the school system. The format for the diagram is indicated in Appendix A.

Once this is complete, add to the diagram the different types of influence that each group says they use. For example, if the superintendent indicates that he uses authority to influence the principal and the principal indicates that he uses personality to influence the superintendent, then the diagram would be made as follows:

$$\text{superintendent} \overset{\text{authority}}{\underset{\text{personality}}{\rightleftarrows}} \text{principal}$$

The complete diagram indicates the types of influence utilized in the system and how influence is distributed. Now consider the different ways in which people have indicated how they would influence decisions in the system and their effects. Diagram these plans on the form provided in Appendix A.

The two diagrams that you have drawn from your data should be used to answer the following questions about the distribution of influence in the school political system and its possible effects on decision-making: 1) Which three types of people have the most influence in the system? Does the type of influence they use vary according to the person they are attempting to influence?; 2) What types of influence do those that hold the most influence exert? How about those with the least influence?; 3) Can you rank people according to who has the most influence? Do people tend to influence others who are near them in ranking or does influence cross from the top to the bottom and the bottom to the top of the list?; 4) What effects do various groups think they could have on decisions? Do you think these decisions would be very different from the ones in the system now if different people had more influence?; and 5) Do you think there are other ways that would be more effective for each group to influence another? Why or why not? Through answers to these questions, students should begin to understand how influence is distributed in the school political system and the potential effects of different groups on political decision-making.

Number of Students: 20 or more.

Time: 1 week.

3. The Structure of Influence and Its Effect on Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To identify how three principal types of influence structures -- autocratic, pluralistic and democratic -- effect political decision-making as alternatives are generated and choices are made.

Outline of Activity: Identify a relatively large club in your school which serves some type of service function for students such as the F.T.A. or the debate club, or for the school in general, such as the student council. Talk with the president of the organization in an attempt to help define three principal types of influence structures within the organization. First, define a set of decisions that are made by a vote or other means by virtually every member of the group (where every member has an opportunity to participate). Then define a set of decisions which are left to committees or other special interest groups within the organization and which are never brought to the mass membership for a vote, or which are at least worked out first within the committees. Finally, define a set of decisions which either the president himself or the president and the officers of the organization make themselves. Pick the three most important decisions made recently in each of these three categories. Determine how the votes were cast (pro or con) by members of each group on each of the decisions.

From this initial set of decisions and vote results, proceed to determine how each decision would have been made if another form of influence structure had been responsible for making the decision. Determine a random sample of organization membership which includes at least 20 persons. A random sample can be made for this group by obtaining an alphabetical listing of the members, counting the number of members on the list, then dividing the sum by 20. The result is the interval that should be used in choosing a sample from the alphabetical list. Then have this sample vote on each of the issues that were decided under the autocratic (president and council) and pluralist (committee) influence structures. In addition, ask students whether or not they could think of alternatives which they think would be better than the alternatives that were considered. Be sure to keep account of these types of comments from students.

Now ask the members of the committees to vote on the issues decided by the executive council and those decided by the mass membership. Again, ask each person if they can think of alternatives which they feel would be more effective than those selected by the people making the decision. Finally, ask the president and/or the executive council to vote on those issues that were originally decided in committee or by the mass membership. Again, ask each person if they can think of alternatives which were not selected by the original decision-making bodies which they feel would be better decisions.

Then begin to analyze the data that you have collected. Arrange the nine decisions in columns. Divide the columns into rows according to the individuals interviewed. Fill in the cells depending on the votes. Include the alternatives proposed in the margins. The data table should look like the one provided in Appendix A. Use the data to answer the following questions about the relationship between the structure of political influence and decision-making: 1) Were any of the decisions have been different had the structure of influence varied in making the decisions?; 2) Were any of the alternatives proposed radically different from the ones voted on originally?; 3) Would committees have voted differently on issues before other committees than the ones responsible for the original decisions?; 4) Which form of influence structure do you think is most appropriate for bringing about new and innovative policies? Which is most appropriate for maintaining status quo policies (not generating many alternatives)?; and 5) Most organizations have a mixed form of influence structure, do you think that the division of issues worked out under a mixed system such as the one you have studied has a great deal to do with the directions in which the organization will develop over time? Why or why not? What would happen if the decisions now made by the executive council were made by mass membership? Would there be more or less conflict in the system? Through answers to these questions, students should be able to determine various ways in which the structure of influence effects political decision-making and the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Number of Students: 15 or more.

Time: 1 week.

F. Political Resources

There is another kind of political value which is very different from influence, or the ways in which people interact with one another. This political value is concerned with the basic needs for personnel, facilities, finances and curriculum in schools. These values are political resources. Decisions about how to allocate such political resources are made in schools daily by the school board, principal, teachers and students. How each of these groups choose to use resources effects every facet of school life. Therefore, the types of political resources available to the school and the distribution of these resources becomes very important in determing the political behavior within schools and the type of educational product the system produces. The following activities are designed to explore some of the basic dimensions of the political resources used in the school and the effect on political decision-making as well as the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

1. Types of Political Resources

Purpose: To identify four major types of political resources in school politics.

Outline of Activity: Obtain the budget statements on school spending over the last five years from the superintendent's office. Place them side-by-side as you attempt to answer the following questions: 1) What are the major categories into which the school budget is divided?; 2) What proportion of the total budget is devoted to each category?; 3) Who benefits most directly from each category?;

4) Have the allocations to major categories changed over the last five years? If so, with what effect on the school system?; 5) How does the total amount of the budget effect which categories are preferred?; and 6) Has the school made any major efforts to increase resource spending in one of the categories over the last five years? With what effect on the school system? Who has benefited the most from this effort -- students, teachers, administrators, everyone? In answering these questions, students should be able to determine the types of political resources used in the system and the effects on the system which result from the decisions made about political resources.

Number of Students: 1 - 3.

Time: 1 day.

2. The Distribution of Political Resources

Purpose: To determine how the distribution of political resources in the school system can effect political change, maintenance, development, and conflict.

Outline of Activity: Identify from the school's records four major types of decisions in the history of the school: 1) the most recent time when the school's total budget was raised by over 20% in the period of 1-2 years; 2) the most recent time when the school made a major revision in the curriculum: 3) the most recent time when the school made a major change or increase in personnel; 4) the most recent time when the school made a major effort to build new facilities. Look at the school budget during the two years preceding each of the decisions, the year of each decision, and the two years following each decision. Determine the proportion of each budget in each of the five-year periods that was devoted to the following resources: facilities, personnel and curriculum. Compile the data so that you can determine how, in each of the five year periods, finances were allocated in the school system.

Use the data to aid in answering the following questions: 1) Did general increases in the budget promote allocation of resources into one particular category, or was the increase more or less spread across all categories? What was the effect of this increase on the school system as a whole?; 2) Did the increase in spending in any one of the particular categories during any of the three time periods continue after it was initiated? What was the effect of this increase on the school system as a whole?; 3) Has the school traditionally invested in one particular type of resource rather than another? If so, with what effects on other resources?

If not, what would be the effect of such an investment?; 4) Have investments in any particular type of resource generally brought about major changes in some areas of school life? Have they been continued past the initial decision so that the school development has been directed to one particular area rather than another? Do you think large investment in some sector of school life is a prerequisite for change and development? What happens to other sectors when this is done?; and 5) Has there ever been conflict over the ways in which resources were allocated during these periods? Why or why not? Through answers to these questions, students should learn the relationship between the investment of political resources and political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Number of Students: 4 or more.

Time: 2 days.

G. Political Ideology

Of political ideology in the school not very much is known. Yet, findings to date do indicate at least two features of educational ideology which parallel findings in the more general political electorate: 1) Ideology as such is a very loose, even at times inconsistent, set of ideas as it is held by most people. Only leaders have a very well-defined set of beliefs about the goals of the educational system; and 2) People's beliefs do tend to structure their attitudes and actions toward school political issues. Because of these two general parallels, the structural dimensions of educational ideology become very important in the study of school politics. Since ideas about the goals of the school system do tend to influence individual's actions within and toward schools, the substance, salience and degree of cleavage in ideology becomes important to both school decision-making and the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict. The following exercises are designed so that students can explore relevant dimensions of political ideology and its effect on school political experiences.

1. The Structure and Substance of Political Ideology in School Politics

Purpose: To identify some of the relevant similarities and differences in beliefs between groups and between leaders and followers in the student and teacher populations in the school.

Outline of Activity: Identify a sample of ten students and ten teachers. The sample should be randomized. Use an alphabetical list of students and an alphabetical list of teachers to determine the number of students of the student list and the number of teachers on the teacher list. Divide each sum by ten. Use the resulting answer as an interval for choosing your sample. Select five leaders of teachers such as department heads and five student body leaders who did not appear in the original sample. The original group plus the leaders constitute the total sample. Once the sample is chosen, interview each person using the interview schedule provided on the form in Appendix A.

Begin to analyze the data. The answers to the right end of the continuum for each question represent a status quo or more "conservative-oriented" response to questions. The answers on the left end of the continuum on each question represent a more change-oriented or "liberal" response. For each _individual questionnaire_ tally the responses to each question according to how many responses fall in each category on the continuum. Then make a different tally and take each _question_ and see how teachers generally responded to the question and how students responded. See if you can draw any generalizations about the ways in which students responded to the question compared to ways in which teachers responded. List the principal ideas to which students responded similarly and those to which teachers responded similarly.

Use the data that you have collected to determine answers to the following questions about the structure and substance of educational ideology: 1) Did the students generally support different ideas than the teachers did? If so, were the differences structured with students responses generally at one end of the continuum and teachers responses generally at the other? Why or why not?; 2) Were _individual_ responses to questions generally at one end of the continuum rather than the other? If this is true, then individuals generally support either a liberal or a conservative set of beliefs. If the answers to the first question above are also positive, then students as a group also support a different set of beliefs or ideology than teachers; and 3) Did the leaders of both the teachers and the students respond differently to the questions than their followers? Were their responses generally less variable than the followers responses? From answering these questions from the data they have collected, students should learn how ideology is structured and what particular ideas can make a difference in the attitudes and behavior of students and teachers.

Number of Students: 15 or more.

Time: 1 week.

2. The Salience of Beliefs and Their Effects on Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To determine the effect of strongly-held beliefs on political decision-making in school politics.

Outline of Activity: Identify an issue which has come before your school board recently which aroused a great deal of interest on the part of people within the school and community members outside the direct school boundaries. Use newspaper files to identify the following sample of persons to be interviewed: 1) two school board members whose opinions differed on the issue; 2) ten community members, two of whom are or were community officials, two of whom are local businessmen, two of whom are members of organized groups in the community (Kiwanis, League of Women Voters, P.T.A.), and four of whom are parents of students in the school; and 3) a sample of ten students and teachers who were interested in the issue. Use the newspaper files to become informed on the circumstances surrounding the issue, the main lines of thinking and debate on the issue, and the final outcome of the issue.

Then, begin interviewing each of these groups asking the following types of questions: 1) Did you participate in the resolution of this issue when it was brought before the school board? How did you participate?; 2) Had you participated in other decisions of the school board or was this the first time? Why did you participate? Were the reasons different than those which you had previously?; 3) Do you think your participation brought to the board different information than they otherwise would have considered?; 4) Do you think your participation caused the board to consider different alternative solutions to the issue than otherwise would have been considered?; 5) What effect do you think your ideas had on the board's decision on this issue?; and 6) How important was this issue to you compared to other issues that have come before the board?; When all of the interviews have been completed, determine who had participated in previous issues confronting the school board at earlier times and for which people this was the first issue in which they had participated. Also determine how important this issue was to each of these people compared to others before the board.

After the data has been collected and partially analyzed, complete the analysis by answering the following questions about the relationship between the salience of beliefs and politica decision-making: 1) What were the various ideologies that structured the participation of various actors in the decision? Did any ideology motivate people to participate in school politics for the first time?; 2) Did any ideological difference produce conflict between participants in the decision? Did this conflict continue past the time when the decision was made? If so, with what effects on the school system?; 3) Were some people more interested in this issue than they had been in others? If so, this is a case of issue salience, one issue becomes more important to people than others; 4) How did the salience of particular beliefs influence the way people behaved? Did they bring their opinions in the form of additional information to the school board? Did they influence the types of alternatives that were considered?; and 5) Did anything in the school or community change as a result of the ideas presented on this issue? Through these questions, students should be able to determine the effects of the salience of beliefs on political decision-making and speculate about the effects of the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Number of Students: 20 or more.

Time: 1 week.

3. The Effects of Ideological Cleavage on School Decision-Making

Purpose: To determine how major differences in educational ideology can effect school decision-making and the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Outline of Activity: Talk with the editor or a member of the staff of the local newspaper in order to determine two school decisions which have come before the local school community recently and which have the following characteristics: 1) one decision had overwhelming community support, or at least did not create much opposition; 2) one decision created considerable debate in the community; and 3) neither decision occurred during the same 3-month period of time. When the two decisions have been identified, begin to content analyze the newspaper reports on each. First, select out one issue of the newspaper per week for ten weeks surrounding each time period when each decision was being decided. Select the issue because it gives the most extensive coverage of the school decision for that week. Select five issues which appeared before the decision was made and five issues which appeared after the decision.

When the 20 issues of the newspaper have been selected, review each of the articles regarding the school decisions. Attempt to classify and record information as indicated on the form in Appendix A. Determine which groups in the community supported or opposed the decision. Carefully record the reasons which they gave for supporting or opposing the decision. Determine whether or not these groups were also active in supporting or opposing other decisions during the same period. Determine at what stages of the decision-making process each of the groups tried to support or otherwise influence the decisions: information-gathering, generation of alternatives, making choices between alternatives, decision outcomes, the feedback process. In the newspaper issues which appeared after the decision was made, determine what resulted from the decision. Determine who benefited from the decision, whether fundamental changes were made in the school system, whether conflict resulted from the particular way in which the decision was made, and whether any new directions for development of the school were initiated as a result of the decisions.

Then, compare your findings on each issue in answering the following questions about the relationship between ideological cleavage and political decision-making: 1) Did the conflict of opinion on one of the decisions produce more participation on the part of different groups in decision-making?; 2) Was more information brought to bear on one decision?; 3) Were there more alternatives considered in one decision than the other?; 4) Did people generally give the same types of reasons for supporting each decision? For opposing it? If they did, what were the major beliefs which made up the ideology which influenced each side? Were these beliefs very different?; 5) How did the beliefs that people held influence their actions in the decision?; 6) How did these beliefs and actions influence change or support the status quo? How did they influence conflict? Were any of the results of the decision permanent? That is, were any new long-lasting policy directions created by these decisions? Why or why not? Through answers to these questions, students should learn the relationship between ideological cleavage and decision-making as well as the fundamental political experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

Number of Students: 4 or more.

Time: 1 week.

The seven types of activities outlined above constitute a knowledge base which is one, but surely only one, dimension of the experience that the school political laboratory is designed to provide. Students need information on which to base and evaluate experience. The activities are designed to provide some of that information in a way that maximizes relevance to the student's own immediate environment in the school and at the same time represents generalizable dimensions of political behavior. The activities are thus not linked to the particular institution of the school, but rather to a framework for studying political experience which transcends insituttions of many types.

In addition to being useful because they are both relevant and generalizable, the activities have been designed to promote the one thing that was indicated in the beginning as being crucial to every dimension of any learning experience -- choice. Students can choose among a wide range of activities. Students can also often choose groups, issues, or leaders that they are interested in studying. In this way, the student makes choices about what he will learn in a relevant environment. Throughout these activities, students are consistently participating in active information-gathering and analysis. They are learning by doing in the sense that they are producing knowledge from their own investigations. The knowledge-building activities, then, support many of the principles on which the laboratory is based.

Yet, it would be difficult for students to fully utilize many of these activities without skills in observation, data collection, and making comparisons. The skill-building activities which follow provide an essential two-way linkage between knowledge and participation. First, they offer students ways to gather information in a usable form. Second, the skill-building activities provide students guidelines for behavior once they actually enter into participation activities. They attempt to teach students clues for recognizing reliable evidence and sound arguments for dealing with problem-solving situations, and for evaluating decisions in terms of their goals. It is logical that such activities should precede actual participation, for they inform students of some possible prototypes for handling actual political experiences which are all too often both complex and variable.

Skill-Building Activities

Both participation and inquiry skills are often learned almost unconsciously. Students may, for example, see or work with an effective leader. When they are then put into a leadership position, they tend to replicate the behavior of that leader. Students also often get a great deal of pressure from peers, both within and without the classroom, to make sound arguments to support their views and to bring evidence to bear on statements that they make. Similarly, they are confronted with conscious choices for which they generate alternatives and apply value criteria everyday. These kinds of skills, then, are not at all unfamiliar to students.

However, learning skills in this way leaves a great deal to chance. People find their own ways to cope with everyday events, yet skills of analysis and participation need to be systematically learned in order that students can stand "outside" of themselves and evaluate their own arguments and actions. One never eliminates either bias or chance, yet recognizing bias and the bases for action can make decision-making and other political behavior more effective. Furthermore, there is much that is unnatural about both systematic inquiry and participation -- taking a random sample, distinguishing value from factual statements, thinking of a decision from another person's point of view, strategic planning. These unnatural types of skills also aid students in making more effective choices and taking more productive actions.

The basic types of skills for making sound choices and for effective participation are thus the focus of this section of the school political laboratory. The central concern here is with building three general types of skills: analytical, methodological, and participatory. The analytical skills stress the development of problem-solving capabilities. The methodological skills promote the acquisition of abilities to search for and use information. The participation skills emphasize the creation of an awareness of role play and the analysis of the group dynamics involved in decision-making. Each of the activities outlined below is designed to develop these skills through the use of initial information and repeated applications. The forms necessary for each activity are contained in Appendix B.

A. Analytical Skills

This section includes activities for the development of seven different types of analytical skills: problem selection, conceptualization, generalization, comparison, information-gathering, inference and evaluation. None of these skills really stand alone. All need to be integrated together into ongoing classroom activities. Consequently, one key word in each exercise is application. Each activity will include, along with the purpose and outline, a section on potential applications.

1. Problem Selection

Purpose: To identify four major criteria for determining a sound problem statement.

Outline of Activity: Identify two problems that you think are important for solution in your school at this time. Read at least three documents which address each problem. The documents can be newspaper articles, reports, or transcripts that you develop from conversations with students, faculty or administrators. Write out a one or two sentence statement of each problem as clearly and concisely as you can. Be sure that each problem is stated in question form.

Then, begin to analyze the problem statements that you have developed. What type of question are you asking in each case? There are three basic kinds of questions that a problem statement can ask. One is a why question which demands that the person give reasons, or explain how the particular things or events in question came to be the way they are. One example of the why-question is: Why is authority for decisions so concentrated in the administrative branch of the school? If your problems are not stated in terms of a why-question, attempt to put them in that form. Another way of stating a problem is to ask the question what, which demands that the person identify what something is, or describe it. "What is the authority structure in the school?" is an example of a descriptive statement which is very different from asking why the authority structure is the way that it is. If your problems are not stated in terms of a what-question, attempt to put them in that form. A third way of forming a problem statement is to ask a value question or to ask why or what should something be like. "Should the authority structure be democratic?" is an example of a value question. If your problems are not stated in terms of a value question, attempt to put them in that form. Save each of the types of problem statements for later use.

There are then, three very different ways of forming problem statements -- explanatory, descriptive and normative. That a problem can be identified by the type of question it asks is important, for the answers you seek will be very different in each case. Another aspect of the problem statement which is important is that it clearly states what it is you want to know. It does so in two ways. First it clearly states the objective of your question: the question is directed to some event or behavior. The more clearly the event or behavior is defined the better. Think about the objects in the two problems you have stated: Could someone else understand exactly what you wanted to know? Try it out by asking some people in the class your questions. Make modifications that will state more clearly what you want to know. A second way in which clarity is gained is to think of the purpose which the question serves, or how it fits into a more general set of ideas that you have. How will you use the answer once you get it? Do you want to know why something is the way that it is because you want to do something about it, just for information, or because you want to use that information to understand other things? See if your problem statement clearly reflects the context within which you intend to use the answer. Again, try it out with friends to see if they clearly understand the type of information that you are seeking in your questions.

One final criterion which differentiates a sound from a less sound problem statement is falsifiability. Can what you want to know possibly be demonstrated to be true or false? Think of ways in which your question could be answered in statements that would prove to be true or false. If you can determine some, then you know that your question can be answered by bringing evidence to bear on it. When these activities are finished, try one or more of the applications listed in the next section.

Applications: Several applications of this knowledge of problem selection can be listed: 1) Take an issue of the school newspaper and determine the problems discussed. Evaluate the problem statement made in terms of type, clarity, purpose and falsifiability; 2) In attendance at your next club meeting, take one of the problems that is being discussed and formulate a statement of the problem which fits the particular purposes of the club. Determine the effect that such a problem statement has on decision-making; 3) Read the editorial page of any local newspaper and analyze the problem statements it presents; 4) Analyze the actions of any sports team playing a game. Determine three problems in team play and analyze your problem statements according to type, clarity, purpose of the team, and falsifiability.

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 1 day.

2. Understanding and Working with Political Concepts

Purpose: To determine what a concept is and to understand the process through which sound concepts are developed.

Outline of Activity: Look out the window of the class. List on a piece of paper the different things you see. Compare what you have written down with what others have wirtten. How many of the objects you have named are the same? The nouns or names of the things you have listed are concepts. Some features of everyday life like the ones you have named are obvious, for they stand out almost begging for names. The names we choose for them are concepts. Other features of everyday life, however, are not so obvious. Think of all the things you have done so far today. Can you think of one or more concepts that describe your behavior -- eating, attending class? List them on a piece of paper. How do your concepts compare to those of others? Have you chosen as many similar concepts as you did in looking out the window? Why or why not?

Most political concepts define some pattern of individual or group behavior. Some define the behavior of very large groups such as nation states or international organizations. These patterns of behavior are often more complex than those you have previously defined. Take the concept "political participation" and try to determine all of the behaviors of members of the school that could be included in the concept. Again, compare your list with those of others. Can you formulate a criterion for including and excluding certain behaviors? Such a criterion is key to the clarity of a concept, for it is about the only way we can determine what the concept means, or what is or is not to be included in the definition of the concept. Test your criterion by determining what behavior would or would not be included under the concept "political participation." Compare your results to those of others.

In addition to clarity, the significance of concepts is an important part of concept formation. Significance is determine by how a concept can be used. If a concept aids us in understanding more about political behavior than another concept, then it is useful. Political concepts, then, are useful when they can be related in some way to other ideas we have about political behavior. Think of a decision that was made recently by the student council in your school. Would the concept of "political leadership" in any way lead you to understand more about how the decision was made? Can you think of other political concepts that are related to decision-making? Make a list of concepts that would be useful or not useful for understanding decision-making. Through these questions and activities, students should learn how to formulate sound concepts and how to use the criteria of clarity and significance for determining their usefulness.

Applications: The skill of concept formation can be applied in the school setting in several ways: 1) Observe a meeting of any type in your school. Determine a set of concepts which are useful in understanding the behavior of people in the meeting. Construct a sentence or two which shows how these concepts can be related to promote understanding of behavior in the meeting; 2) Analyze a magazine article by the concepts it introduces. Do all of the concepts aid in understanding the subject of the article? What various functions do the other concepts serve?; 3) Analyze your favorite piece of music by attempting to tie concepts to rhythms in the musical score. Do these concepts aid in understanding or appreciating the music? Discuss your ideas with a friend. Do they aid him in appreciating the music? Would he attach the same concepts to the score?; 4) Integrate your knowledge of problem selection and concept formation by choosing a problem and using concepts in the problem statement in ways that are useful for understanding what you want to know.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 1 day.

3. Making Generalizations About Political Behavior

Purpose: To determine what constitutes a sound generalization about political behavior and to gain experience in developing generalizations.

Outline of Activity: List three objects in the room at this time. Think of characteristics which these objects share in common. Formulate a set of sentences which indicate how these characteristics are related. The sentence you have formulated is called a generalization because it demonstrates how different objects or individuals share things in common. There are, then, two important components of a generalization: concepts which identify characteristics of individuals or their behavior and the relationships between concepts.

Identify two political concepts such as political leadership and political participation. Formulate three generalizations which state relationships between these two concepts. An example of such a generalization is: As leadership becomes more centralized, decision-making tends to be concentrated in a few hands. Could you produce information which would confirm or disprove each of these statements? This is an important characteristic of a generalization, you must be able to test whether or not it is true. Make a list of five generalizations and the ways in which they could be proved true or false. Make another list of generalizations which you do not think could be proved true or false. State your reasons. Then, exchange lists with another student. Do you agree with his reasons? Can you find ways of testing whether or not the generalizations he has listed as unprovable could be proved true or false?

In addition to testability, generalizations need also to be evaluated in terms of their utility. Like concepts, generalizations are most useful when they aid in understanding other types of political behavior. For example, if we are interested in understanding the problem of political decision-making, a useful set of generalizations would relate leadership, participation, and communication to decision-making. A less useful generalization would be one that related ideology to leadership in this particular context. In general, the more we can say about a problem from a set of generalizations, the more useful it is. Define a problem. Make a list of three generalizations which are useful in understanding the problem. Make another list of three generalizations which are not very useful in understanding the problem. State your reasons for claiming that one set of generalizations is more useful than the other. Exchange lists with another student. Do you agree with his reasons for claiming that one set of generalizations is more useful than another? Through questions and activities such as these, students should learn to identify as well as develop generalizations about political behavior.

Applications: The skills of identifying and developing useful generalizations can be applied in several ways: 1) Any book, magazine or newspaper can be analyzed for the utility of its generalizations; 2) A scene from a play can be enacted, or even created by the students, in which other students develop generalizations about the political behavior depicted in the play. They can also come to some assessment of the types of behavior which would or would not be characteristic for various actors to take on in the remainder of the play; 3) Attend three meetings of various organizations in your school. Define a problem such as how decisions are made or how people participate in the meeting. Determine a set of generalizations about the political behavior in those meetings. How do those generalizations provide better understanding of the problems you have identified?

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 1 day.

4. Making Comparisons About Political Behavior

Purpose: To determine various ways that comparisons can be useful in the study of political behavior and to gain experience in making comparisons.

Outline of Activity: Think about three students that you know in your school who act very differently in the school setting. Determine what is similar about their behavior -- they all go to class everyday -- and what is different about it -- some participate in sports while others do not. Making comparisons is essentially a matter of determining such similarities and differences. As in this case, comparison serves to aid in the clarification of what people share in common and what they do not. Shared behavior patterns become the basis for generalizations about social and political life. State some of the generalizations you think you can make about student behavior from the similar characteristics you have found in the patterns of behavior of the three students.

This is only one way that comparison can be useful. Another way is to determine what difference it makes in politics as a whole if people exhibit different patterns of political behavior. Analyze the results of the last student council election. Each of the candidates proposed something relatively different for students and the school. What difference could the election of one candidate rather than another make for how students would behave or how the school in general would function? List the possible effects on students and the school in the case of the election of each candidate. Now, determine a hypothetical candidate who could make a radical change in the behavior of students and the school. List the possible changes that this candidate could make. Each candidate represents some alternative which can make a difference in school politics. One function of comparison, then, is to determine what differences in the behavior patterns of individuals really make an impact, or have different consequences, for the functioning of the school system as a whole.

A third way in which comparison is useful is in the analysis of political change. Obtain a copy of the school's history, or talk with an administrator or teacher who has been in the school for at least ten years. Identify one major change in the politics of the school which has occurred over a period of the last decade, such as teacher's unionizing or school boards being elected in different ways. First, determine what was similar in the behavior of people in the school before and after the change. Second, determine what behavior was different at the time of the change. This second behavior is what produced the change. Then, identify what behavior was different after the change. This behavior is the consequence that the change itself produced. An understanding of change, then, is essentially derived from an analysis of similarities and differences.

Each of these ways of making comparisons is useful in understanding politics. Determining similarities and differences aid in clarifying alternative ways people behave politically. Assessing the consequences of differences in alternatives promotes the assessment of what differences have a real impact on the school system. Analyzing change through comparison aids in understanding how differences develop in the first place. As a result of this activity, students should learn how to make comparisons for any of these three purposes.

Applications: The skill of making comparisons can be applied in diverse ways: 1) Analyze the grading system in your school. What characteristic behaviors must a student display in order to get each kind of grade? What are the major differences in behavior patterns between grade categories? What effect do these differences have on the behavior of students?; 2) Choose two student leaders and a group of student followers in your school. Analyze the similarities and differences between the behaviors of leaders and followers. Determine what changes in the behavior of followers could possibly make them leaders in your school; 3) Identify two aspects of school politics -- political authority and political participation. Determine what the most general pattern of authority or influence is in your school by studying organization charts or talking with the principal. Determine who participates in school decisions and how. Now, think of an alternative way that influence could be excercised, such as total equality among teachers, students and administrators. How would this difference in authority also produce differences in the ways that decisions are made?

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 3 days.

5. Making Sound Arguments to Support Generalizations About Politics

Purpose: To distinguish sound from unsound arguments and to determine how evidence can be effectively applied to support or refute generalizations.

Outline of Activity: Select a political issue which you think is important to solve in the school at this time. Determine a partner for this activity who disagrees with you about how this issue could be resolved. Work together to precisely define the problem you both will be confronting. Each of you should then develop one generalization about political life which indicates your position on the problem. Then, individually develop a set of arguments which each of you feel best supports your generalization. Write these arguments out and make a copy for your partner.

With both sets of generalizations and supporting arguments in hand, evaluate them for consistency. Consistency is first determined by whether or not the statements in support of the generalization are relevant to it or whether they really do not relate at all to the generalization. Consistency is then determined by whether or not the relevant arguments are contradictory. See if either argument exhibits non-relevant or contradictory statements. If so, change the arguments so that these two types of errors are removed. Then, determine whether any data or facts can be applied to each statement in the argument which would render it true or false. Lise all of the data which you can think of which could be gathered to support your argument. Also list all of the data you can think of which could possibly refute your partner's argument. Compare your list with your partner's. If there is any part of the argument which cannot be clearly both supported and refuted by evidence, change the arguments so that this is the case.

Consistency and refutability are important criteria for evaluating sound arguments. In order to determine whether or not you can really use these criteria effectively, choose one more political issue that you and your partner agree is important to the school, the community, or the nation and try to develop sound arguments for opposing positions. Apply the criteria and compare these arguments to the ones you made originally on the first issue. Is the second set of arguments better developed than the first? Through these activities, students should learn to develop and evaluate sound arguments.

Applications: The development of sound arguments and the utilizations of the criteria of consistency and refutability can be applied in the following ways: 1) Analyze a live or televized debate. Determine the major arguments on each side. Evaluate these arguments in terms of the consistency and refutability criteria; 2) Determine an organization in the local community which is advocating a position on a current school political issue. Interview a leader of this organization and determine the organization's reasons for advocating the position. Evaluate their argument in terms of the consistency and refutability criteria; 3) Determine what alternative things you would like to do next Saturday. Develop reasons for each alternative and evaluate your arguments according to the criteria.

Number of Students: 2 or more.

Time: 2 days.

6. Making Inferences from Generalizations About Politics

Purpose: To learn to interpret how conclusions from arguments can be applied in the school political setting.

Outline of Activity: Spend an hour observing the meeting of any organization or club in your school. Determine generally what the club members do in this meeting, i.e., plan activities, debate issues, work on projects. Spend another hour making similar observations of another club. Draw generalizations about what is similar about both meetings. From this evidence, can you make generalizations about the behavior in most organizations in the school? Would your generalizations have been different if you had only attended one meeting? If you conclude that you can make generalizations from this evidence to most school organizations you are committing a fallacy of inference called the "universal fallacy."[34] Generally, you cannot infer anything about most organizations from only one or a few cases. Only when you very carefully select your sample can such generalizations be supported by a few cases.

One generalization that is taken as universally true about school politics is that students generally do not participate in making curriculum or personnel decisions. Does this apply to every case of every student that you know? Interview the principal and ask him the following questions: 1) Have you ever talked with any students before making a curriculum or personnel decision?; and 2) Under what conditions do you think it would be a good idea for students to participate in school decision-making? Analyze your observations and the interview with the principal, do you think that the original generalization applies to every real or potential case? If so, you are committing what is called the "ecological" fallacy. Generalizations never apply to every case in human political behavior. Inferences from the total universe of people to a single case cannot be made. Yet the generalizations still do aid us in understanding political behavior. Interview the next five students you see and ask them whether or not they have ever participated in a school decision about curriculum or personnel. Generally, the students will say no. On the average, then, the generalization applies.

A third type of fallacy can be determined by revisiting the next meeting of one of the organizations you analyzed previously. Can you still make the same generalizations about the activities of t the members? Did the club do anything different at this meeting? Generalizations from a single point in time to all other points in time also tend to be fallacious in what is called the "cross-sectional" fallacy of inference. Any organization must be observed over several time periods before over-time generalizations can be made. Through these activities, students should learn three major ways of avoiding fallacies in making inferences.

Applications: The skills of making sound inferences from generalizations and recognizing faulty inferences in terms of the three fallacies can be made as follows: 1) Take a poll on the school bus on the way to school or in your homeroom of how many students are actually participating in some form of student government activity. What kinds of generalizations could you make from this data? Could you make inferences to all students in the school? Could you make inferences to any individual student on the school bus or outside?; 2) Read the latest poll figures on citizen support for the President of the U.S. compared to leading contenders for the presidency. Can you make inferences about who will win the next national election? Can you infer how the 18-year olds in your school will vote either generally or individually?; 3) Determine one generalization about teacher political behavior in your school. Indicate the appropriate kinds of evidence which would support or refute your generalization. What kinds of inferences could you legitimately make from your data?

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[34] For an explanation of these and other fallacies of inference, see Hayward R. Alker, Jr., Mathematics & Politics, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965, pp. 101-106.

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 2 weeks.

7. Evaluating Political Alternatives

Purpose: To determine how value criteria enter into choices between alternatives in political decision-making.

Outline of Activity: Identify three values which are important to you in relation to man's political life such as equality or freedom. Write these values on a piece of paper. Determine a political decision which is now being made in your school and which is important to you. List three alternative ways that the decision could be made. Make a choice about which alternative you would support. Is this alternative supported by more of your values than those that you did not choose? Values are used in this way in political decision-making to support one alternative over another.

Form a group with three other students. Exchange lists of decisions and alternatives so that each person is now making choices about two decisions that he has not seen before. As before, each person should choose the alternative he favors most. He should determine how his own values were supported by his decision. Now attempt to make a group choice of one alternative for each of the three decisions. Do any individuals in the group hold opposing values? Is it on the basis of these values that people in the group have chosen different alternatives? How is a group holding different values able to make a decision on a single alternative? Through these activities and questions, students should be able to determine how values enter into political decision-making.

Applications: 1) Watch a series of five different television commercials. Determine which of your values are affected by each of the commercials. Then determine the different values which each commercial itself addresses. Compare your values and those of the commercial and decide whether or not the alternative they offer supports or opposes your values; 2) Determine your position on three political issues of importance to you in the school. Determine which values underline your position. Do you hold any conflicting value positions on these issues? Do you need to resolve your value conflict to make decisions on these issues?; 3) Try to determine how you would maximize both the value of freedom and the value of equality in some concrete political situation in your school. Are there any situations in which the two values would conflict? Could you support two contradictory positions on an issue because you hold both values?

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 1 day.

B. Methodological Skills

Certain fundamental methodological skills aid in making sense out of the wealth of political experiences students find in the school setting. The eight activities outlined below stress key features of sampling and taking polls, evaluating the content of documents and making comparisons. Specifically, the activities include: data collection, interviewing, participant observation, content analysis, aggregate data analysis, table reading and constructing graphs, comparative analysis and sociogram analysis.

1. Collecting Data About Political Experiences

Purpose: To learn the skills of scaling, determining samples, and evaluating data about political experiences.

Outline of Activity: Select a political issue which you think is important to resolve in your school. Identify alternative ways in which the issue could be resolved. Construct a short interview schedule which includes the following set of questions: 1) What do you think are alternative ways in which this issue could be resolved? and 2) Which of these alternatives do you prefer? Now interview three different groups of people. First interview five of your best friends and record their answers to your questions. Then interview the first five people that you meet on your way out of class or in front of the school on your way home. Record their answers to your questions making sure that you keep them separate from the answers in the first groups. Then, take the student directory and count the number of students listed in it. Divide that number by five. The resulting number is interval you use for selecting five people to interview. Let us say there were 100 students listed in the directory. Then you would divide by 5 and get an answer of 20. You would then count down 19 students and pick out the 20th to interview, the 40th, the 60th, and so on. You need not start from the beginning of the list, but pick 5 on intervals of 20 beginning anywhere and returning to the first name on the list in your counting after you have gone through all the names. Interview these five students and record their answers to your questions.

Now, analyze your data answering the following questions: 1) Were the alternatives that each group of five students listed very different? Did one group list a greater range of alternatives than others?; 2) Count how many students favored each alternative in each group. Did students in one group tend to favor different alternatives than students in another group? Did students differ in their opinions (were more different alternatives favored?) in one group than the others? It does not always happen this way, but most of the time the third group will reflect a greater range of alternatives and opinions. This is so because the sample is a random one, meaning that people are chosen without regard to an identifying characteristic such as firendship or even being in the hall at a certain time. Randomness in constructing a sample from which data is collected is important. Otherwise generalizations that you make from the data can be biased becauee you have only looked at the behavior of certain types of people.

An equally important question in sampling is determining what it is that you want to sample. This is most often determined by what particular generalizations you need to have evidence to support or refute. Each generalization contains concepts and stipulates relationships between them. Each concept is defined in terms of certain types of behavior. For example, the concept of political participation can be partially defined by voting behavior. Such behaviors provide instances or cases of the concept. It is these behaviors that you want to find examples of and for which you construct your sample. You want to include a range of instances so that you can tell whether participation does effect, for example, decision-making in the ways that you have stipulated.

In order to determine instances of a concept, people generally convert the concept into a scale. There are three very basic types of such scales. One is a nominal scale which distinguishes instances from non-instances of a concept. Thus the scale can be constructed by separating, for example, apples, oranges and pears out of fruit basket in order to draw generalizations about their color and shape. Applied to political behavior, you could construct a nominal scale of official political roles by determining national, state and local officials. Your sample would then be drawn over a range of these types of people involved in politics.

Another way to construct a scale for a concept which aids in determining what it is you want to sample, is to construct what is called an ordinal scale. Ordinal scales are based on more or less, greater-than or less-than types of distinctions. Thus, if we were concerned about the degree of national policy orientationn of official political leaders, we might construct an ordinal scale according to whether or not the leader focuses most of his attention on national, state, or local matters. The scale would measure the degree of national orientation as "high," "medium" or "low." Your sample, then, would cover this range of leaders.

Still another way to construct a scale for a concept is to develop an interval scale. Interval scales are numerical in the sense that degrees on a thermometer measure temperature. They are defined by having the same distance between each category. An example of an interval scale in politics could easily be constructed by determining degrees of national policy orientation by looking at the number of policies of national significance in which official political leaders were involved. The scale would then range from zero to many policies and the sample would be of national, state, and local officials.

Select a political concept such as political leadership or participation. Define what you mean by the concept. Determine three different ways -- nominal, ordinal, and interval -- that the criterion for the concept could be scaled. Determine a sample that would be appropriate for studying the concept in each of the three ways. Can you use the same sample for more than one of the scales? Make sure that each sample is random.

Sometimes people desire to use a variant of a random sample called a stratified random sample. In this case, the sample is purposefully selected by categories such as 10 boys and 10 girls or 10 Republicans and 10 Democrats. This is done when you want to be sure that certain categories of people are included in your sample, largely because you want to compare differences between, for example, Republicans and Democrats. Define a generalization you would like to use for each conept. Determine a random sample through which you could gain evidence for these concepts. Now, think of a way in which the sample could be stratified to help you gather evidence. Exchange papers with another student and discuss the advantages and also disadvantages of various sampling techniques.

Two criteria are generally used for determining the adequacy of any sample. One is the criterion of fit to the concept and another is the number of members in the sample. Generally, the latter is determined by whether or not each part of the scale for a concept is represented by some members of the sample. If you wanted to determine in general, for example, how political participation effected decsion-making, and constructed a scale which included every political activity from wearing a campaign button to actually being an elected representative, you would have trouble drawing any generalizations at all from a sample of three persons who were all members of the President's cabinet. Thus, samples must be large enough to include a few members of each scale category. To try out this idea, construct a five part interval scale for political leadership in your school. Now, imagine how various interviews could fill the five categories in the scale. How different would your findings about leadership be if you interviewed only 3 people? Would it make very much difference if you randomly interviewed 100 or 500 people?

A second criterion which is important in both scaling and sampling, is fit to the concept. For example, let us suppose you desired to study the effect of political influence on decision-making. You constructed a scale which included all forms of influence, yet you interviewed only those individuals who held official positions. Your sample would not fit your concept, for there are many types of informal influence which can be as important to the study of political influence as the formal ones. Use both the criterion of range and the one of fit to examine the samples that you developed previously.

Applications: Applications for knowledge about data collection can be outlined as follows: 1) Develop an index of student political participation in school politics. Take a random sample of 20 students in the school in order to determine how they participate in school politics. Compare the range and fit of the data to your index of participation. What would be the effect on your generalizations if you only interviewed student leaders?; 2) Identify the kind of sample which might be appropriate to study the effects of increased education on ideas about politics in your school. Develop a research design around this topic and carry out the study; 3) Play any card game which requires that cards be shuffled and stacked in order to proceed with game play. Play the game once using a deck that has been shuffled at least three times. Note during game play what strategies are important for winning. Write these strategies on a piece of paper. Now stack the deck by sorting the cards by number value and placing the Aces on the bottom of the deck, the Kings next, the Queens next, etc. Play the game again. How have the strategies changed? Now take out all face cards and shuffle the remaining cards in the deck. Play the game without the face cards. Again, how have the strategies changed? Discuss the differences between random, stratified random, and inadequate sampling procedures from the gaming situation.

Number of Players: 3 or more.

Time: 2 days.

2. Interviewing as a Basis for Gathering Political Data

Purpose: To determine ways of constructing an interview schedule and using a schedule for data collection.

Outline of Activity: Construct a short scenerio of a conversation between two famous political figures such as John Kennedy and Martin Luther King. Read some biographical material on each figure. Then construct a short conversation that the two figures might have had on the subject of war or trade, city poverty or some other relevant topic. Try to indicate in the conversation not only their point of view, but their language style and values. Such a scenerio will tell you a great deal about the major factors to be considered in interviewing. The chief skill to be acquired is to be able to see a situation from another person's point of view. Compare the conversation you have constructed with any conversation either of these two figures might have had with you. How are their positions, language styles, and values different from yours?

To actually construct an interview schedule, you essentially follow the same steps as you did in constructing the above conversation, except you have a more well-defined purpose in mind. Construct a problem statement which clearly defines something that you want to find out about school politics and which would necessitate interviewing administrators, teachers, and students. Develop one or more generalizations about the subject such as "Students tend to feel less powerful than teachers or administrators in making school political decisions, and therefore do not participate as much in school politics." Then determine a set of scales for each concept in your generalizations. You now have a well-defined problem for which you want to gather evidence.

The first basic step in constructing an interview schedule is to convert these scales for the concepts into questions which you can ask those individuals that you want to interview. There are two basic types of questions you can use: open-ended and forced-choice questions. Open-ended questions let the individual being interviewed give his own answer in his own words to the questions that you ask. Forced-choice questions are like multiple-choice answers on tests. They ask the individual being interviewed to choose among the answers you have already arranged for him. Usually, open-ended questions are only used when you want to explore a problem rather than gather evidence about a problem you already have well-defined.

After you have developed questions which give you evidence according to the scales you have developed, be sure to check the language of your questions. The easiest way to do this is to give the interview to three or more other students, teachers and administrators to determine whether or not they understand the questions and whether the naswers sought are clear to them. Do this type of pre-test with one student, one teacher, and one administrator. Revise your question according to their comments.

Then conduct the interview with a sample of students, teachers and administrators. Be sure that the conditions under which the interview is conducted are the same: each interview should take the same amount of time, the same questions should be asked unless your sample has purposely been divided, the same types of cues for answers should be given. Now, analyze your data and see how the interview had aided in bringing evidence to bear on your initial problem. Did you miss some data which you would now like to have? Was this the fault of your interview schedule?

Applications: 1) Read one scene from each of two popular plays by different playrights. Determine a set of questions you would like to ask the actors in the scenes. How would your questions be phrased differently among actors or between actors in different scenes? Why?; 2) Construct a short interview schedule about a problem that you would like to state your opinions on. Have another student interview you using your interview schedule. Now interview someone very different from you in age, interests, or background. Discuss with them the merits of the interview and its faults; 3) Watch any news program on television which centers around live interviews with political figures. Determine what central problem(s) the newsmen are interested in. How do their questions give them evidence for the problem(s)? How were their questions received by the person(s) being interviewed? Write a short critique of the program based on what you know about interviewing techniques.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 3 days.

3. Participant Observation as a Basis for Gathering Political Data

Purpose: To acquire the skills of observing groups in which students are actually participants and to apply that skill in political decision situations in the school.

Outline of Activity: Determine one organized group (not a group of friends) in which you participate at least weekly. Probably the best type of group for this activity is a sports group which meets regularly for team practice or just regular sports play. Now select a political probelm you would like to study about this group. Develop one or more generalizations about the group's activity. Design a method for bringing evidence to bear on these generalizations which necessitates your observations of the activities of the group with or without the awareness of group members. Remember that your observations may be totally biased by the fact that other group members know you are observing them. Generally, participant observation is best done when other group members are not aware that they are being analyzed.

Participation observation is most often carried out when you want to know something about a small group which you don't think interviews will yield. For example, you may want to know how decisions are made and you may think that group members are not really aware of the kinds of interactions which underline decision-making. Generally, participant observation requires keeping a daily diary in which you record the types of information relevant to your questions. Do this over a period of two weeks with the group and the problem you have selected. Be sure to record all information which your generalizations indicate in each diary entry.

Normally, the type of data you will want to gather does not just naturally fall out of watching a group. Many times you have to ask questions or manufacture situations to which the group will respond. If you want to study group conflict, for example, you might want to engineer a conflict by introducing an issue on which you know the group is divided. In gathering your data on the problem you have chosen, construct at least one of these types of situations. Enter the results in your diary.

When you have collected all the data through the diary accounts, then organize it in a form that will fit your concepts and generalizations. Determine whether or not your initial generalizations were confirmed or refuted by your diary data.

Applications: The skill of participant observation finds multiple applications in the school setting, some of which can be outlined as follows: 1) Observe student participation in a class by keeping record of student-teacher interactions. Try to determine who controls what goes on in the classroom, who initiates discussion and who controls the classroom climate. This is a case of participant observation used to study political influence; 2) Observe any committee of which you are a member. Determine through interactions of members how decisions are made. Be sure not to change your own behavior during the meeting; 3) Watch any documentary on television in which people have directly tried to investigate the lives of other people, animals, or events by becoming a member of the community in which the activity is taking place. Determine what activities they were trying to observe and whether or not they did so successfully. Did the life style of the community change in any way because the observers were there? Did this effect their research findings?

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 1-2 weeks.

4. Content Analysis as a Means of Gathering Political Data

Purpose: To determine how to use content analysis as a vehicle for studying school politics.

Outline of Activity: Content analysis is normally used as a means of gathering data from documents rather than directly observing individuals or events. Go to the school newspaper office and obtain two issues of the school newspaper. Identify one editorial in each of the two newspaper issues. Analyze each editorial by determining what "key words" are used in reference to school politics. Can you determine a general statement of what kinds of topics the editor normally addresses from the analysis of these key words?

Take the generalization that student political leaders are generally more liberal about school politics than other students in the school. Content analyses are normally done with a generalization such as this one in mind. Identify what you mean by "liberal" and develop a scale of student political liberalism. Then apply the scale to reports in one week of newspaper issues about what student political leaders are doing and the letters to the editor which indicate the opinions of other students. Was your generalization confirmed or disproved by your content analysis? Did someone else in the group use a different scale for student political liberalism? Were his results the same or different from yours? Discuss the merits of the scales as they are applicable to the content of the newspaper articles. Did the data fit the scales well or poorly? This is one important criterion for evaluating any content analysis.

Applications: Content analysis can be utilized in many different ways to gather political data. A few applications of the skill can be made as follows: 1) Develop a generalization about the amount of political conflict in your school. Design indices for the variables in your generalization. Define a sample of school newspapers and proceed to count the instances of different types of conflict in your school and the conditions attributed to it. Determine whether your generalization was supported or refuted by the evidence; 2) Identify at least two political poems written by different authors. Use content analysis to determine differences and similarities between the political ideologies of the two authors. What generalizations can be drawn from your analysis?; 3) Identify the school songs of at least two different high schools in your area. Analyze the content of the songs to determine differences in the values and goals of the schools. What generalizations can be drawn from your analysis?

Number of Students: 5 or more.

Time: 3 days.

5. Collecting and Analyzing Large Amounts of Political Data

Purpose: To determine effective ways of collecting large amounts of data and preparing it for analysis.

Outline of Activity: People often ask questions and make generalizations which require having a lot of evidence for support. In addition, people often want to analyze many questions at the same time. If people want to know something about voters in most communities or in the nation as a whole this happens. It also happens when people want to use data, such as that from the Census Bureau, to provide evidence for their generalizations.

Suppose that you wanted to undertake a study of 18-year old voters in your community. You want to know why they will or have voted in one way rather than another. Voting is a result of many factors including socio-economic status, parent's party identification, issues and candidates in the election. You could do a lot of interviewing, but it would take forever. So you decide to distribute a questionnaire to 18-year olds in your school and combine this data with that from school records. Design a questionnaire and list relevant data from school records you would need to answer the question about the 18-year old vote. Also determine a convenient place where students can return the questionnaire.

There are some helpful pointers in doing this kind of reserach. First, in this large a sample, the return on your questionnaire will normally be less than 50%. Therefore, to get the correct sample size you must distribute twice as many questionnaires. Second, you want all of your data to be of nearly the same form as possible. This means that if you have interval data on one question you want to have interval data on the next. Finally, your data should also be complete. If you do not have data for one person on all the variables, that person should be excluded from the list. Usually, when data is collected from many sources in a large sample it is converted first into a table in which each unit or individual in the sample is listed in the rows and the different types of data are recorded in the columns which are labelled for each concept. Send out your questionnaires with a limit of one week on returns and collect the data that you need from the school records.

Once you have your data on hand, convert it into a table. Determine how the data can be collapsed by taking averages or differences in responses in order to give evidence in support or contradition to your original generalization. Determine whether or not the generalization was supported or refuted by your analysis.

Applications: The skills of doing aggregate data analysis can be applie d to the school setting in the following ways: 1) Conduct an opinion survey using a large random sample of students to determine their opinion on at least three school political issues that are important to students. Identify what student opinion is generally on each issue and how it varies by class, sex, etc.; 2) Use the records of the history of the school to determine how several significant political variables have changed over-time. Use any decade in the school's history and trace the development of, for example, political leadership on the part of the superintendent over a ten-year period; 3) Use the school newspaper files to trace the development of ways that political information has been communicated to students.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

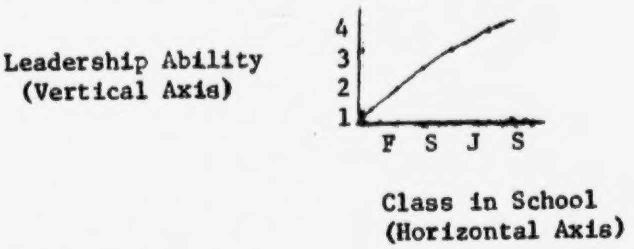
Time: 1-2 weeks.

6. Tables and Graphs as Means of Organizing Political Data

Purpose: To determine how to construct and use tables and graphs as means of organizing political data.

Outline of Activity: Identify 1 freshman, 1 sophomore, 1 junior and 1 senior in your school who you know well. Then rank each student on a 4-point scale as to his ability to lead groups. Also rank each student for his ability to make decisions about school issues. Each student should occupy a different position in the ranking. Now construct a table using your data by making the class designations into columns of the table and the political variables as rows. Can you make any generalizations about leadership or decision-making abilities with regard to class in school from your data? Do people tend to be more able to lead groups and make decisions about school issues when they are more senior in class standing?

Sometimes generalizations are easier to see when data is organized in a graphic picture rather than a table. Any table can be easily converted into a graph. Graphs are made by drawing two axes, one horizontal and one vertical as follows:



The graph is drawn by converting cells in the table into points on the graph. The leadership score of the freshman thus becomes a point which is the co-ordinate between his score and his class standing. In this example, there is a very definite generalization that can be made between leadership ability and class standing. Can you determine that relationship? Make a graph for your own data. Is there any relationship between leadership ability and class standing?

Tables and graphs are rarely used for generalizations about four people. Gather the same type of data for 2 more freshmen, 2 sophomores, 2 juniors, and 2 seniors on the political leadership and decision variables. Average the scores for the three students in each class and construct a table as you did before. Now construct a graph from the table of the ability to make decisions on school issues. Can you draw any generalizations about the relationship between class standing and the ability to make decisions from your data? How have the tables and graphs aided you in making generalizations?

Applications: The skill of making tables and graphs can be applied in the school setting in the following ways: 1) Find any newspaper article about school politics which presents data on some school issues or activities. Organize the data in the form of a table and then a graph. Do you draw any different generalizations about school politics from your table and graph than was presented in the article? If so, why? 2) Construct a hypothetical set of data that you can convert into table or graph form. Manipulate your data so you can easily draw generalizations. Then, try to make a set of data that will demonstrate no generalizations at all. Make another table and graph from this data. Compare the results of organizing data in these two ways. Speculate about different uses that can be made of tables and graphs besides drawing generalizations from them; 3) Analyze any section of your student handbook. What data can you gather from it? Collect that data and convert it into one or more tables or graphs.

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 2 days.

7. Comparative Analysis as a Method for Analyzing Political Data

Purpose: To determine two major ways in which comparative analysis is undertaken and to explore various ways in which systematic comparisons can be made.

Outline of Activity: List the names of either all the girls or all the boys in your social studies class. Remove from that list all the people who make A's for at least half of their grades in school. Now remove from the resulting list all people who do not have brown hair. What characteristics are generally true of the remaining people on the list, i.e., they all play baseball, they all take social studies? Then take a random sample of 10 students from your class. Do this by listing alphabetically the students names, counting the number of students, dividing that number by 10, and using the result as an interval for selecting the sample. Do these people share the same characteristics as the group whose names you originally listed? What three characteristics of the original sample are definitely different from the second? The first example is called "most similar" systems analysis which means that units -- individuals, classes, schools, communities, nations -- are selected because they share some characteristics in common and differ in others.[35]

A second way of utilizing comparative analysis is through a much different type of procedure. Again, list either all of the boys or all of the girls in your social studies class. Now select a characteristic you wish to study. Determine which people are most different from each other on this characteristic. For example, if you choose "degree of sports activity" as a characteristic, then determine which boy or girl plays sports most, which least, which somewhere in between. You are by this method making comparisons using differences rather than similarities as the basis for your analysis. This is called "most different" systems analysis.

Applications: Skills of comparative analysis can be applied in the following situations: 1) Undertake a study of how social studies classes could effect the political learning of students. Determine how many different social studies classes there are in your school. Then construct a most similar systems design for studying the effects on political learning. Now construct a most different systems design. "Systems" in this sense are classes. Speculate about or actually do the study to determine how the results turn out under each design; 2) Suppose that you were to undertake a study of how wars occur between nation-states. Select a sample based on a most similar and a most different systems design. Which systems you have chosen would be included in both types of designs?; 3) Organize a research design for studying the club organizations in your school. Select several political variables such as political leadership, participation, or political influence which would aid you in understanding how each organization makes its decisions. Develop a design for studying decision-making using a most similar systems design. Compare this design to a most different systems design done by another member of the class.

Number of Students: 2 or more.

Time: 2 days.

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[35] For a more complete discussion of different uses of comparative analysis, see Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry New York: Wiley, 1970.

8. Sociogram Analysis as a Method for Analyzing Political Data

Purpose: To learn how to do sociogram analysis in small groups and to determine how data can be collected and analyzed using this technique.

Outline of Activity: Sociogram analysis is used basically as a way to record interactions between people. Conversations, contributions to meetings, and activities in small groups can all be analyzed in this way. The purpose of the analysis is generally to study communication or influence patterns in decision-making groups. To begin this activity, determine any 15-minute segment of any television show that you watch regularly. Any radio program that is not run only by one person will do as well. List the major members of this segment of the program. Make a table of interactions by listing the names for rows and then making columns out of the same names.

Now watch the television program or listen to the radio program and make a mark in a cell of the table each time one person talks to another person. In the end the table should be a record of how many times each person talked to another person during that segment of the show. Think about what you know about the program and answer the following questions without using your data: 1) Who is normally the main actor in the show?; 2) Who do you think normally communicates most with actors in the show?; and 3) What kinds of actors are normally in on decisions that are made during the program? Now review your data answering these same questions. Are the answers the same or different? Why do you think they are the same or different? Political life is often much more complex than the types of activities revealed in a television program. We very rarely can type people's behavior as easily as we type actors. Yet in any political organization with regular activities, behavior patterns do develop. Use the same type of analyses for the next meeting you attend of a club in which you are a regular member. Make a table to record the actions of the principal actors in club activites. What kinds of generalizations can you draw from your data?

Applications: The skill of making sociograms can be elaborated and applied through the following activities: 1) Attend a school board meeting and attempt to determine who interacts most in the decision-making process by using sociogram analysis; 2) Spread some news about something important to students to three of your friends. The next day ask them to name who they talked to about what you had told them and who brought the subject up to them. Identify one side of your sociogram as initiators of discussion and the other side as receivers. Record the data your friends have given you. Then define a random sample of 10 students in your social studies class. Ask each person whether or not they have heard the news and, if so, who from. Can you draw any conclusions about communication between friendship groups from your data?; 3) Spend an hour in any place where most students spend leisure time either inside or outside the school. Determine the interactions between students who are in attendance. Does this type of analysis give you any information about who you would contact if you wanted a lot of people to know something?

Number of Students: 1 or more.

Time: 1 week.

C. Participation Skills

Just as skill development is important for analysis and evaluation, so certain skills become very important when students begin to actually put their knowledge to use in the practical school setting by participating in its political life. At that point skills such as making sound decisions, leadership skills and working in groups become important tools for students. Consequently, the following activities are designed to give students some useful clues about participation without actually launching them into full participation experience . Basically, five different activities are outlined here: individual decision-making, group decision-making, leadership, role development, and conflict resolution.

1. Making Political Choices as an Individual Participant in Political Life

Purpose: To demonstrate different factors that are important in making political decisions and to give the student practice in making these decisions.

Outline of Activity: Create a list of every decision you have made so far today. Count everything from deciding to get up to deciding to go to school, *if* you actually thought about these things. When your list is complete, then choose two of the decisions that you think were most significant. List at least three alternative ways each of these decisions could have been made. Think about the information you had about each alternative and the values that were involved. Did you think about each of these alternatives when you initially made the decision? Why or why not? Did you pick the decision you did because you have made that decision the same way on other days before?

Did you make it because you value something which the other alternatives violate or do not allow you to maximize as much? Would you make the decision the same way now that you have thought of the other alternatives?

Recognizing that you are making a decision is an important skill to learn. So is generating alternatives and gathering the information you need to make sound choices. The questions above indicate three major ways that people often generate alternatives for decisions. Sometimes they look for every possible alternative they can find. This takes a lot of time and energy and is usually only done when people have a lot of both to spare. A second way of generating alternatives is to rely on the way you have made similar decisions in the past. Then your alternatives do not deviate very much from that precedent. This way people are relatively sure that their alternatives are workable and decisions can be made relatively quickly. Decisions are usually made based on precedents when time is short or potential conflict is great. A final way in which decisions are made is by using a value criterion to generate alternatives. Alternatives are considered only if they meet an individual's basic values. Decisions are usually made based on values everyday. Go back to your initial decisions and alternatives and apply these three ways of generating alternatives. What differences would there be in the alternatives formulated through each method?

Making a decision between alternatives generally involves making an assessment of two things, first how the decision will effect personal values and second how it will be implemented or what consequences it will have. List the values involved in making the two decisions. List the consequences of each alternative. Did you consider the values and consequences involved in making your initial decisions? If not, you have missed a key element of individual choice. How do your decisions compare with those of another member of the group? Compare your decisions by looking at the alternatives and how they were generated, the choices that were made, the values involved and the consequences of the choice. Work with one other person to decide how to make a decision that you know you will both have to make sometime in the near future. How would each partner differ in the way he would go about making the decision?

Applications: As has been demonstrated, individual decision-making is part of everyday life. Political decisions are also an everyday event, for each day many individuals make choices which directly or indirectly effect the school political system as a whole. The following are some of the applications of individual decision-making that can easily be made: 1) Determine one problem which you think is important to resolve in your school. Make sure the problem is important to students, faculty and administrators. Gather any information that you can about the problem. Determine your own values in regard to the problem. Make a decision about what you think should be done in regard to the problem. 2) Read any two plays or parts of novels in which the protagonist is faced with a serious political decision. How were the two decisions resolved differently? Would you have made the decision the same way? 3) Play any standard board game with at least one other person and discuss individual decisions or moves and how they are changed by entering into two-person competition. 4) Study a recent school board decision or one that the principal has made. Determine how each part of the decision was undertaken. Would you have made the decision the same way?

Number of Students: 2 or more.

Time: 1 day.

2. Group Decision-Making in School Politics

Purpose: To determine how group decision-making differs from individual decision-making and to gain experience in group bargaining under different rules for making decisions.

Outline of Activity: An odd-number of students at least five in number must agree to work on three problems which are important to resolve in the school at this time. There must be three such groups, each with two of the three possible problems. The groups as wholes must have the following characteristics: 1) One group of five students must have relatively the same general opinion on the resolution of each problem; 2) A second group must be generally split into two people favoring one alternative, another two people opposing that alternative, and one person relatively neutral on each problem; and 3) A third group is totally split into many fragments with almost every one taking a different position on alternative solutions to each problem.

First, students individually make decisions about their three problems. They uncover as much information as they think they need, state values involved, alternatives to be considered and make their decision as to which alternative they would choose. They then move into their groups which have the characteristics indicated above. The purpose of each group is to come to a decision about which alternative will be chosen as the final decision for the entire group.

There are certain cues to bargaining which should aid students in group decision-making. Generally, in most bargaining contexts many participants, even if they disagree, can gain something. They do so by discovering what their opponents want and give them the least objectionable part of it in return for something they want. Another way to bargain is to discover a new alternative which fits both party's needs. This way both may agree without actually exchanging valuable resources. Still another way to bargain is to change the decision. This is done by reformulating the entire problem on a different basis. In this way, people can make some decision and break a deadlock on the original problem. Students should try in each of the situations below to determine what the other side wants and to either give them something that they want, create a new alternative or alter the decision that needs to be made.

Each group will have 30 minutes to make a decision on any one problem under a unanimity rule situation. In other words, everyone must agree to the final decision. Any form of persuasion can be used. Students can argue from data or information, they can make promises to other students to vote with them on the second issue, they can appeal to values or make monetary rewards or promise favors in the future. Each person has the same amount of resources as indicated in the chart in Appendix B. Students can make side deals with individual students or consistently try to make a decision as a group. Each time a student tries to make a bargain he should record the type of bargain on the chart in Appendix B.

After 30 minutes have elapsed, each group should either have made a decision or recognize why one cannot be made. They should then compare experiences by answering the following questions: 1) What bargaining techniques were successful or unsuccessful in each group? What about the dynamics of the group made bargaining different in each group?; 2) How did the decision rule effect decision-making in each group? Do you think that under another type of decision rule a different decision could have been made?; and 3) How did the group decisions differ from the individual decisions? Why?

Each group should now pick one of the remaining problems on which it has not made a decision. Attempt to make decisions on the problem in another 30 minute period under a majority rule.
Each person should review his individual decision and then groups should be formed with characteristics as before. Each group should attempt to reach a decision on the problem by attaining a majority on one alternative. The groups should then together discuss the questions above.

Finally, each group should attempt to make decisions in another 30 minute period under an autocratic rule on the remaining issues. Each person should again make his decision individually and then groups should be formed with characteristics as before except that one person is chosen as autocrat. Other individuals should try to bargain with the autocrat in order to influence him to decide in their favor. After 30 minutes, the groups should then together discuss the questions listed previously.

Applications: Bargaining skills in group decision-making situations are easily applied in the school setting: 1) Open your social studies class for discussion of a one week course of study that they would like to undertake some time in the future. Allow students to break into groups to discuss alternatives. Attempt to get a relative consensus both on what rule students want to use for making the decisions and a decision result. Discuss with other students what bargaining tactics were effective and ineffective in making the decision; 2) Attend the next meeting of any club or student organization to which you belong. Analyze the bargaining structure under which decisions are made. Enter into the bargaining to see if you can clarify alternatives or change alternatives in order that the group can come to a decision which best approximates the one that you favor. Which bargaining tactics were successful or unsuccessful under these conditions?; 3) Play any standard game in which people compete to win. As you are playing the game, design your own bargaining elements which you think would be effective under the conditions of the game.

Number of Students: 15 or more.

Time: 4 days.

3. Group Leadership in Political Activities

Purpose: To determine some basic criteria for effective group leadership and to gain experience in leadership and followership in group activities.

Outline of Activity: Read any biographical sketch of a famous political leader. Determine what you think are the strengths and weaknesses of his or her leadership. Now draw your own sketch by interviewing or reading about any person in the school who you think is a leader. Compare the strengths and weaknesses of the two leaders you have chosen. What about their leadership was different? What was the same? Why did these similarities and differences occur?

Leadership is essentially a group activity. The exercise of leadership depends as much on the type and purpose of the group as it does on the leader himself. Four different students should interview a sample of group leaders in the school with the following characteristics: 1) 1 coach of any school sports team; 2) 1 teacher who is an advisor to a school club; 3) 1 classroom teacher who is not an advisor to a school club; and 4) the school principal. Each student should interview one person. Ask each of these individuals the following questions: 1) In which group of people in the school do you consider yourself to be a leader?; 2) What purpose does the group serve in the school?; 3) On what basis do you exercise leadership in the group?; 4) Name several instances in which you think your leadership has been effective and several in which you think it has been ineffective. Why do you think this is the case?

Determine at least four possible functions that groups can perform in the school from your interview data. Design four groups of 5 or more members in your social studies class that can perform similar functions for your class or students in general. The leader of each group should be the person who interviewed the analogous group previously. The leader should devise a group task which can be accomplished within one week. He/she then should begin to analyze his/her role as leader of the group by keeping a diary of interactions with group members within and without the actual meetings of the group.

Group leaders should be especially aware of how they meet the following criteria of group leadership: 1) an effective leader divides task work according to the abilities and interests of members; 2) an effective leader is able to change a group from a set of individuals into a working group by distributing rewards and mediating conflict; and 3) an effective leader exercises his leadership by considering differences in needs of his followers. Use the week to try as many ways as you can think of to divide tasks, stimulate and mediate group interaction, and exercise your leadership according to differences in the needs of followers. At the end of the week, the leaders should compare their leadership strategies and determine their effectiveness in accomplishing their task. They should then meet with followers as a total group to discuss leadership and followership strengths and weaknesses.

Applications: There are multiple opportunities for students to apply leadership skills in the school setting. A few are listed as follows: 1) Analyze the purposes of any school club of which you are a member. Determine one task which needs to be done and organize a group of club members to accomplish that task. Evaluate the work of the group in terms of the effective leadership criteria; 3) Analyze a group in which you are presently participating as a member, but in which you have very little leadership responsibility. Determine how the leader of the group exercises his influence and use the effectiveness criteria in evaluating the work of the group.

Number of Students: 20 or more.

Time: 1-2 weeks.

4. Role Behavior in Group Participation

Purpose: To identify various roles that members of groups play in any group activity and to gain experience in participating in groups in various role positions.

Outline of Activity: Generally, any functioning group divides tasks among members either directly or by accident. In all but the smallest and most temporary groups, different people play five types of roles: group leader, information-gatherer, specialist on a particular topic, evaluator, and implementer. The group leader generally coordinates activity and stimulates motivation. The information-gatherer generally supplies data on alternative policies and brings in opinions on group activities from various sources. The specialist is someone who has in-depth knowledge about some aspect of the problem that the group is working on at a particular time. The evaluator checks group activity against short-run and long-run goals. The implementers generally do the actual work of the group toward accomplishing the task.

Determine one political problem in which 5-10 students as a group are interested in resolving in the school. The problem should be able to be worked on for one week. Have the students select out roles for working together. Every day, students should rotate to take on a different role. At the end of the week they should discuss the function of the various roles in group activity and how they contribute to group effectiveness.

Applications: Understanding role behavior in group activities in the school setting can be applied in the following ways: 1) Observe a meeting of any group in your school of which you are a member. Determine which members of the group are fulfilling various roles. If a role is unfulfilled or poorly done, then attempt to fill that role. Analyze the differences in club activity at the next meeting when that role is being performed. Why is there or is there not a difference?; 2) Take a role as goal evaluator in a group in which you are a member. How does this role influence group behavior?; 3) Read any case study of a school, community, or national organization that is concerned about political issues. Who is fulfilling various roles in the organization? How do those roles contribute to group effectiveness?; 4) Watch any television program in which a group is attempting to accomplish a political goal. How are various roles performed by group members? Can you indicate ways in which the group would have been more successful?

Number of Students: 5 or more.

Time: 1 week.

5. Conflict Resolution in Group Political Activity

Purpose: To determine ways in which differences in opinion on issues can be handled within group contexts.

Outline of Activity: Determine two political issues which are important to students in your school at this time. Organize a group of at least five people who are interested in studying the issues and who have the following characteristics: 1) at least two of the people in the group directly disagree with at least two other members of the group on both of the issues; and 2) at least one member of the group takes a third position which is not biased toward one or the other of the conflicting groups. Then organize a series of 45 minute to 1 hour sessions either in or out of class in which the students can work at resolving differences on the two issues.

Then have the groups meet in one session prepared to state and defend their positions. From this meeting one clear problem statement for each issue should develop. Students should also clearly formulate each of the alternative positions they have developed as a result of the meeting.

In the following session, try out one major tactic in conflict resolution by having each member defend the opposing side of his argument. After one-half hour of discussion, have the members attempt to rank the importance of each part of his opponent's argument as he thinks his opponent would view it. Now create an alternative which you think will give your opponent a chance to respond to you which also serves your own goals. Understanding an opponent's position by taking his side and arguing it and giving him a way to say "yes" to your proposal are both important parts of conflict resolution in group situations.

Another important point in conflict resolution is that often positions cannot be compromised in the ways indicated above. In these cases, often the decision itself must be changed. Attempt to use the third group session to reformulate the problem in such a way that groups can come to some conseasus. Another way to produce the same effect is to introduce a new alternative which has not been discussed before. Attempt to use the fourth group session to introduce new alternatives in such a way that groups can come to some consensus.

Finally, one other way of resolving conflicts in groups is to make the rewards of compromise very high. This can most often be done when one side in a conflict has many more resources than another. In the fifth session, first give one side of the issue many resources in which to bargain and see if the groups can come to some agreement on the positions on the two issues. Then, during the second half of the session equalize the resources between the two groups. Note the differences in the way bargains are made and conflict is resolved.

Applications: Skills of conflict resolution can be applied in the school political setting in the following ways: 1) Stage a debate on a political topic before the class or another school audience. Once the issues have been clarified by the debate, then attempt to use different means of conflict resolution to resolve consensus rather than a win between the sides of the debate; 2) Attend any school organization meeting of a group in which you are a member. Take any one issue over which the group is in conflict and attempt to use different means of conflict resolution to reach some kind of decision on the issue. Why were some means of conflict rather than others more effective in this case? Can you think of group conflict situations in which these methods would not be effective?; 3) Take one scene from any recent political play and determine a clear statement of the problem addressed by actors in the scene and the alternative solutions that are proposed. Attempt to rewrite the roles of the actors in the play to produce conflict resolution in different ways than the original version of the scene. Why do you think that the author did not include these variants in the original version?

Number of Students: 6 or more.

Time: 1 week.

Throughout this section three major types of skills have been developed which are crucial to both learning about and participating in school politics.

Analytical skills have been stressed which would aid in making sound arguments and using evidence in seeking political knowledge. Methodological skills have been stressed where they would aid in analysis or participation. Participation skills have stressed working with groups as a focus. All of these activities are interrelated. It would be difficult, for example, to do many of the activities in the participation section without some knowledge of how to make generalizations or evaluate alternative policy solutions. Each of these types of activities form a basis for the actual participation activities introduced in the next section. The integration of knowledge-building, skill-building and participation activities is outlined in Part III.

Participation Activities

The image of the "good citizen" promoted by civic educators has in many ways changed a great deal since John Dewey began setting goals of civic education. People have become far less polemical and far more sophisticated in their thinking about the kind of contribution education can make to society. Yet in at least one fundamental way the image of the good citizen has not changed very much at all -- good citizens make responsible contributions to society through participation. The purpose of this part of the school laboratory is, in large part, to promote the active participation of high school students in that part of society which is most relevant to their lives, the secondary school. The principal long-range goal is to develop a set of attitudes and behavior patterns among students that will become such a part of their everyday lives that they will easily and naturally maintain these patterns of thinking and acting beyond the school community.

The point is not, however, to make everyone a political activist. It is rather to promote individual fulfillment at the heart of which is an active mind and active behavior regardless of the particular context in which the individual finds himself. With this goal in mind, students are engaged in political activity in the school as a prototype, as one kind of exciting facet of everyday life they might wish to continue further than the school itself. Thus, the goal is to have students become aware that politics as decision-making or leadership or bargaining is part of everyday living and political activity can be as exciting in the local club as on the national party level. The kinds of activities outlined below, then, attempt to involve students in gaining active political experience over a sustained period of learning, skill-development and active political participation.

The integration of knowledge, skills, and participation experience is achieved here by first using the analytical framework for school politics developed in Part I as a base. In this way students develop a way of thinking about politics which will aid them in participation. Political knowledge developed through the knowledge-building activities is then put to use in participation as students attempt to construct alternative ways that political change, maintenance, development and conflict can be achieved within the school setting. The skill-building activities prove useful as students attempt to make responsible contributions to the school itself by actually contributing their ideas and energies toward future policies within the school political system. Thus, through sustained participation, students can actually move responsibly into active participation in the political life, and as important, the political future of the school system.

A. Participation in School Political Decision-Making

Because political decision-making is considered to be a process, participation in decision-making activities extends well beyond actual votes in duly designated formal groups. Fundamentally, students can participate in political decision-making through four major types of activities: group activity which brings information or pressure to bear on decision-makers; various activities within the decision-making circle; altering the rules under which decisions are made; and by evaluating the results of decisions and structuring the feedback process. Each of these four types of participation are the focus for the activities which follow. In each case students will both participate in and observe decision-making activities in an effort to determine not only how decisions are made, but how these decisions effect political change, development, maintenance and conflict in the school system as a whole.

1. Group Participation in Influencing Information Flow in Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To give students experience in gathering information necessary for political decisions and to determine different ways in which information flow can effect the school system as a whole.

Outline of Activity: Determine a decision-making group in your school which meets the following characteristics: 1) the decision-making group (though not necessarily the same members) has existed in your school for at least two years prior to this time; 2) the decisions made by the group in one way or another effect most students, teachers and administrators in the school; 3) some record is kept of the decisions that the group makes whether it is minutes of meetings or student newspaper articles relating to decisions or a good individual source who remembers the decisions of the group; 4) the group meets on a regular basis at least once per month; and 5) the students involved in this activity are members of the group or can gain access to individuals who are members.

Now undertake a study of how the group has made decisions in the past two years from their records. First, identify 10 major decisions the group has made. Then, identify who was involved in making each decision, what the rules for decision-making were, what alternatives were considered before each decision was made, what sources of information were consluted in making each decision, and how the outcome of the decision effected the school system as a whole. Then compare the decisions and see if any patterns in these variables have developed over time.

Use the analysis of past decisions to determine some conclusions about how information can effect decisions made by the group. State these conclusions in the form of hypotheses about information effects. Now organize a group of students at least five in number who are interested in a decision which the group is making at this time. Determine ways in which information could be gathered which would aid the decision-making group in posing new alternatives or deciding favorably on the alternative which the group of students favors. This might include locating specialists, taking polls of students, faculty, or administrators or researching the topic carefully yourselves. Introduce your information into the group by making presentations or influencing members of the decision-making group to present the information.

After the information has been presented, continue to use every means available to influence the group by bringing in information. As the decision-process progresses, note carefully how the final decision is made and its effects on the school community. Then answer the following questions: 1) How did the decision-process in this case compare to that in past cases that you have studied? What was similar and what was different about decision-making?; 2) How did information that you brought to the decision effect the decision-making process? Were your initial hypotheses confirmed or refuted by the data that you gathered from studying this case?; and 3) How was the school system as a whole effected by the decision? Was the school system effected differently than it would have been if you had not tried to influence the decision-making process by collecting information? Use the conclusions you have gathered from answering these questions and this experience to undertake information-gathering activities over at least three more decisions that the group makes in the next three months. Determine how much and in what ways you can influence these decisions by your efforts.

Number of Students: 6 or more.

Time: 1-3 months of selected activity.

2. Influencing Political Decisions by Mobilizing Organized Interest Groups

Purpose: To give students experience in various ways of organizing participation in political decision-making and to determine how the school system as a whole can be influenced by such participation.

Outline of Activity: Identify one group in your school which makes political decisions on a regular basis and has the following characteristics: 1) the decision-making group (though not necessarily the same members) has existed in your school for at least two years prior to this time; 2) the decisions made by the group in one way or another effect most students, teachers, and administrators in the school; 3) some record is kept of the decisions that the group makes whether it is minutes of meetings or student newspaper articles relating to decisions or a good individual source who remembers the decisions of the group; 4) the group meets regularly at least bi-weekly; 5) the students involved in the activity are genuinely interested in the outcomes of the decisions that the group regularly makes; and 6) at least some students undertaking the study have contacts with other organized student groups within the school.

Once the group has been designated, then undertake a study of how group participation has effected decision-making in this group over the period of the last two years. Identify five different decisions which the group has made. Study the records of each decision to determine who was involved in making the decision, what groups influenced how alternatives were structured or how choices were made, what decision rules were used, and how the outcomes of the decision influenced the school system as a whole. Then compare the decisions and determine whether any patterns in these variables have developed over time.

Use the analyses of past decisions to determine how groups have traditionally participated in decision-making. Develop a set of hypotheses about how group participation can effect decision-making. Then identify one problem which is presently being decided within the group which is of concern to students, faculty, and administrators. Form a group of five or more students to study how the decision is made. Form a second group of students which mirrors the composition of the original group in terms of number of members and difference of opinion on the problem. Use the same rule for making decisions in the student group as in the original decision-making group. This student group will attempt to make a decision on the same problem at the same time that the original decision-making group is resolving the problem. The purpose of the study group will be to compare the decision-making processes in the two groups.

From the time of the initial meeting of the student decision group, the students should have clearly in mind the traditional participation structure of the original decision group. They should then attempt to encourage participation in their decision from the widest range of organized and individual interests in the school community. They should especially try to include groups which have not participated in the decisions of the original decision-making group. A record should be kept of each group's participation in the decision. Students should attempt through interviews, polls, and the like to get a full range of opinion on alternatives from students, faculty, and administrators. Students should encourage various interest groups to draw up position papers on the issue. When the group feels that enough participation has been included, they should make their decision on the problem, regardless of whether or not the decision has been made by the original decision-making group.

When both decisions have been made, comparisons should be drawn between decisions made by the original group and the student group. The student study group should draw these comparisons answering the following types of questions: 1) What groups participated in making decisions in one group that did not participate in the other? How did the difference in participation effect the alternatives considered and the choices made in the decision processes?; 2) Were the actual decision outcomes different? Why or why not? How did the decision outcomes effect the school community?; and 3) How could the groups or individuals who participated in decisions made by the student group have effected the decision made by the original decision-making group? The entire group of students should then meet to discuss these findings.

Students should then bring their findings to the original decision group. They should use these findings to influence at least one decision that the group makes in the future. Differences in the decision-making process should be compared across all decisions and students should again form generalizations about the effects of group participation on decision-making and the effects of particiaption on the school community. They should determine ways in which political change, maintenance, development and conflict can be affected through participation in group decision-making.

Number of Students: 10 or more.

Time: 1-2 months of selected activity.

3. Deciding How to Make Political Decisions

Purpose: To give students experience in making political decisions in alternative ways and to determine how groups can decide which way fits a particular type of decision situation.

Outline of Activity: Identify three decision-making groups in your school which have the following characteristics: 1) One group traditionally makes long-range planning decisions and is at this time beginning to make one such decision which will have an effect on most students, faculty, and administrators; 2) One group is at present making a "crisis" decision; that is, it is confronted with a particular situation in which it must make a decision almost immediately; and 3) One group is making a routine decision about a particular problem in the school such as curriculum for the following semester or which F.T.A. members will substitute in classes or tutor students.

Three student groups should be organized to complement each of these groups and to study how they make their decisions. Each group should be structured as similarly as possible to the original decision-making group except in the respect that the way decisions are made varies. The student group complement to the original "planning" group will be a "crisis" decision group. The student group complement to the original "crisis" group will be a "routine" decision group. The student group complement to the original "routine" group will be a "planning" decision group.

Students in each group should then study the issue which their complementary original group is making decisions about and determine the alternatives generated for the decision and the rules under which decisions are made. Each student group then meets, attempting to use the same decision rule in a different situation. The planning group uses a "synoptic" model by reviewing all possible alternatives and selecting one for implementation. The crisis group uses an "incremental" model based on a precedent of past decisions. Students should review past decisions of the group to determine a realistic precedent on which to base their decisions. The routine decision group uses a "mixed-scanning" model to determine their decision by first determining values involved and then selecting from alternatives which meet those values. At the time they are making their decisions, student groups study the decision-making process in the original groups recording how alternatives are generated, choices are made, and outcomes effect the school system as a whole. They keep an identical type of record for their own decisions.

When all of the decisions have been made, student groups first compare how their decisions were made to the process in the original groups. Then students meet as a group to discuss the utility of various ways of making decisions by answering the following types of questions: 1) What were the similarities and differences between the alternatives generated under each model of decision-making? Did the different ways of selecting alternatives make a difference in the outcomes of the decision? Why or why not?; 2) What effects on the school system as a whole did the different decisions have?; and 3) Under what conditions do you think each decision could have been more effective? Students should then analyze or participate in at least one other decision made by any of these three decision-making groups and again review the questions asked above.

Number of Students: 15 or more.

Time: 1-2 months of selected activity.

4. The Effect of Decision Rules on Participation in Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To give students experience in making decisions under different decision rules and to assess the effect of decision rules on the school system as a whole.

Outline of Activity: Determine one decision-making group in your school which at least 5-10 students would like to study. The group should have the following characteristics: 1) it has existed in your shcool for two years prior to this time; 2) the decisions made by the group either directly or indirectly effect most students, faculty and administrators; 3) it meets on a regular basis to make decisions at least bi-weekly; and 4) students can develop some access to the group for participating in its decisions. When the initial decision-making group is identified, the students should review the past decisions of the group in order to determine the rules under which decisions are made and the inclusiveness of participation in decisions on the part of members of the school.

Having determined the traditional ways in which decision rules have operated in this decision-making group, students should then select an issue which the group is now in the process of deciding and set up two alternative student decision groups which parallel the composition and attitudes of the members of the original decision group. Each of the alternate groups should be run on a different decision rule -- autocratic one-man rule, majority rule, or unanimity rule -- depending on the rule discovered to be operating in the original decision group. Students should both study the decision-making process in the original group and make their own decisions under the various decision rules.

After all decisions have been made, students should compare the effects of making the same decision under different decision rules by answering the following types of questions: 1) Were the decisions different in any of the groups? Why or why not?; 2) If the original decision-making group had used a different rule for making decisions would its decisions have been different? Why or why not? and 3) What are the effects of using different decision rules on the school system as a whole? Is the school more likely to undergo fundamental changes under one decision rule rather than another? Why or why not? Students should then attempt to relay their findings to the decision-making group and establish one person or group to participate in and study future decisions of the group.

Number of Students: 10 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

5. Structuring the Feedback Process in Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To give students experience in evaluating the consequences of different types of feedback processes in political decision-making.

Outline of Activity: Determine two issues in the school which a group of at least six students think are important to resolve in the school at this time. The group decides on the formation of two decision groups with identical structural characteristics: relatively the same number of members, initial number of alternatives for decisions, and decision-rules. Then the group as a whole agrees that one group will make its decision on one of the issues in closed session and afterwards try to implement the decision and gain support. The second group will attempt to get immediate feedback on alternatives as it is making its decision on the second issue. Both groups should keep a record of the types of feedback and the effects on decision-making and implementation.

The first group should spend several meetings making its decision and analyzing various ways of implementing the decision depending on who must be influenced within the school setting for the decision to be made effective. They then attempt to implement the decision by the strategy they have selected which may or may not include informing students generally or informing faculty. After the decision has been implemented, the group should determine the effects of their decision on the school community as a whole. They should pay particular attention to the types of changes that the decision could promote and the conflict which does or does not result from the decision.

The second group begins its decision by articulating a clear problem statement and alternatives. It then begins to collect information and opinion through polls, newspaper ads and the like from as amany sources in the school community as possible. It attempts to consider these opinions and the effects on the school community. It may bring in people from various interest groups or specialists to the meetings. The group then makes a decision and plans a strategy for implementation of the decision depending on the types of influence it must exert on people in the school. The group then evaluates the effect of its decision on the school community paying particular attention to the potential changes and the actual conflicts produced by the decision.

Both groups should then meet to discuss the differences in decisions produced by the differences in feedback processes in terms of the following types of questions: 1) Did the differences in the feedback processes produce differences in decisions made by the two groups? Why or why not?; 2) Was implementation different in the two groups? Was one group more successful in making decisions than another? Why?; and 3) What kinds of effects did the decisions have on the school system as a whole? Did anything change as a result of either decision? Why or why not? Did conflict result? Why or why not?

Number of Students: 10 or more.

Time: 1-2 months of selected activity.

B. Student Political Leadership Activities in School Politics

Student political leadership has never actually been exercised in most schools. The potential for the utilization of student resources, however, is wide-ranging. Students who gain experience in political leadership can not only gain useful experience for their future roles in society, but contribute to the school system itself. The following activities are designed to give students experience in political leadership in various political situations in the school setting.

1. Participation in Various Political Leadership Roles in the School Setting

Purpose: To give students experience in taking on various types of political leadership roles within the school setting and to give them a basis for determining the effectiveness of these roles in various school situations.

Outline of Activity: Divide a group of students into those who desire to gain experience in the following leadership roles within the school: 1) the principal; 2) the superintendent; 3) school board members; 4) teachers; 5) advisors to student sports or other activities; and 6) student leaders. Students should make sure that each category is filled by one or more students. They then determine an effective internship program which includes regular meetings at least weekly between students and respective leaders. The program should run for at least one month. Then students should be able to take over part of the leadership role of each of these individuals for the period of the next month or longer.

During their period of leadership, students should attempt to analyze their role in terms of the basis on which they exercise leadership, the influence which they can exert or cannot exert, and the effectiveness of their leadership. Students should then meet as a group to discuss differences in leadership experiences. Each student should then determine a leadership role within the school setting which needs to be fulfilled and should begin to construct that role within the school setting.

Number of Students: 6 or more.

Time: 2 months of selected activity.

2. Student Participation in the Exercise of Political Leadership in the School

Purpose: To give students experience in different ways of exercising political leadership and to create sustained leadership roles for students within the school setting.

Outline of Activity: Determine three different situations within the school setting in which leadership can be exercised in the following ways: 1) indirectly by setting an agenda; 2) directly by influencing the decision-maker; and 3) directly by bargaining with a series of decision-makers. Probably the best type of group for the first activity is the student council, the P.T.A. or the school board. The best type of group for the second activity is a student club and likewise for the third activity except that the student should actually be a member of the group.

When the three types of situations have been identified, then the student should plan the most effective ways of exercising leadership in each situation. Students consider one issue which they think is important to introduce into the decisions of the first group and negotiate to have that issue placed on the agenda. If they fail in this effort, they then attempt to have other issues placed on the agenda. Finally, they evaluate the role that leadership plays in indirectly influencing decisions.

Students should attempt to directly influence decisions which are being made in the other two decision-making groups. They research the decision which is presently being made in each of the two groups and study the alternatives which are being offered. Students also study the leadership structure of each of the groups in order to determine the most useful targets for their exercise of influence. Students then attempt to influence one of the decision-makers in one of the groups to support their position on the issue. They can use any form of persuasion or evidence which they feel will best insure the success of their leadership efforts. In the second group, students who are members of the organization should attempt to bargain with members of the group and decision-makers in order to make sure that the decision is made in their favor. Students can mobilize the support of the membership of the group, bargain with decision makers about other issues that will be coming before the group, or present evidence which will convince decision-makers of their position.

When all of the attempts at influence have been made, students meet as a group to analyze their leadership efforts. Students should guide their analysis by the following types of questions: 1) Was leadership effectively exercised in each case?, 2) Did the exercise of leadership make a difference in the way in which decisions were made or the outcomes of the decision process?; and 3) Under what conditions are some types of leadership more effective than others? As a result of their findings, students should organize one decision-making group which would be set up on a permanent basis to study problems in the school.

Number of Students: 6 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

C. Student Political Participation

Student participation in the politics of most schools is almost non-existent. For students to gain experience in political participation, new roles similar to the ones created under decision-making and political leadership activities must be created. The activities which follow in part require the establishment of some effective student advising or governing power, whether it is through such organizations as the student council or apart from them. Fundamentally, the four participation activities outlined below demonstrate four different types of political activity which students can undertake to experience the full range of participation in school political life and to determine the effects of participation on the school system in terms of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

1. Students as Participants in Political Decision-Making

Purpose: To give students experience in participating in political decision-making and to give them cues for organizing political activity.

Outline of Activity: Identify five students who are willing to undertake a long-range project in school political participation. Determine one of two ways that a decision-making group can most effectively be set up which will have the major focus of organizing student participation. One way is to create a new committee of the student council which will be in charge of studying and surfacing issues important to students in the school. The major task of this organization would be to survey student interests and to have a sort of "political employment" bureau in which students would register the kinds of activities in which they are willing to work as well as the kinds of issues which are important to them. A second way, depending on students' opinion of the effectiveness of their student government, is to create this organization independently of any organized student interests. Either way, the function of the group is the same.

The group should initially survey a large random sample of the student body to determine through an open-ended questionnaire the principal issues which are of interest to students, who is interested in participating in school organizations of different types, and of which organizations they are already members. This data should give the group some idea of the actual and potential participant structure of students in the school.

The group should then determine its own internal organization for decision-making. It should choose one issue which seems to be salient for most students and begin to study the issue. They should recruit as wide a range of students as possible to participate at different points in the decision process. When the decision is made, they should launch a full campaign to implement the decision in the school. Students in the decision group should keep a running log of how participation was carried out and the effects of participation on decision-making.

When the decision has either been implemented or has failed to be implemented, students in the group should hold an open session for students to discuss the effects of political participation. Questions to be answered should range along the following lines: 1) How did student participation effect decision-making? What various types of participation were successful or unsuccessful?; 2) Was the decision of the group different due to student participation?; and 3) What was the effect of the decision on the school system as a whole? Did any changes occur because of the decision? Were there any conflicts as a result of the decision? What remained the same after the decision? Students should continue to analyze other issues and promote student participation according to this format making modifications according to their own experience.

Number of Students: 5 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

2. Organizing Groups as a Form of Student Political Participation

Purpose: To determine how groups can be organized for political activity and to give students experience in organizing such groups.

Outline of Activity: Take a poll of a random sample of students in your school. Ask them to identify the activities in which they are presently participating in the school. Ask them also to identify which school issues are important to them regardless of the activities in which they are participants. Now select from your poll a sample of 5-10 students who participate very little in school activity and who share common concerns about school issues. Attempt to organize these students as a group to participate in some way in the resolution of some of these issues. Be sure to keep in mind that groups are formed not only on common goals, but on individual needs. Attempt to continuously assess the individual needs of group participants as the group is being organized.

The group should meet to discuss alternative strategies through which some of the basic concerns of the group can be acted upon. Students should then choose one strategy and execute it. When the group has accomplished this, the members should discuss the success and failures of their efforts. You should then either attempt to set this group on permanent footing or take at least one other group and carry it through the same process.

Number of Students: 2 or more.

Time: 1-2 months of selected activity.

3. Lobbying as a Form of Organized Student Political Participation

Purpose: To give students experience in participating in organized political activity as well as organizing political activities themselves.

Outline of Activity: This activity is aided considerably by the creation of the group suggested in the previous activity on decision-making (1). Identify an issue which is important to most students, faculty, and administrators in your school. Create a group of five persons or more to study and make a decision on the issue. Identify at least three major clubs which could have a direct interest in how the issue is resolved. At least two of these clubs should support opposing sides of the issue. Encourage these clubs to organize lobbies for their position in regard to the issue. Other students from the class who are members of these organizations can be recruited to organize the lobbies.

The lobbies can use any tactic available to influence decision-makers for their side of the issue. The decision-makers, in turn, should keep a record of the organization and influence of the lobbies in a running log of their decision-making efforts. When the final decision has been made, both the decision-making group and the lobbies should make every effort to insure that the decision is implemented. When all attempts at implementation have been made, students should hold an open session to discuss the effects of participation on decision-making and the school as a whole. The types of questions which should guide the discussion are: 1) Which lobbies were most effective in their influence on decision-making? Why?; 2) How were the lobbies organized? How did they choose to exercise influence?; 3) Was the decision outcome different because of the participation of the lobbyists? Why or why not?; and 4) What changes in the school as a whole did the decision bring about? Did conflict result from the decision? Why or why not? Students should continue the format of this activity with other issues and other lobbies.

Number of Students: 8 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

4. Voting as a Form of Student Political Participation

Purpose: To give students experience in making voting choices and participating in political campaigns.

Outline of Activity: Review your student government organization and determine one key office which is missing from its organization. You may favor an information specialist who will be in charge of polling students on issues before the council or someone in charge of a special student service. Arrange to have an all-school student election for this office with at least two candidates running from your social studies class. Have at least these two candidates attempt to formulate "party" platforms based on their ideas about educational issues. Organize a campaign staff for each candidate, platforms to be published in the school newspaper, and so on. Form a committee to get out the vote using any resources which you have available. Divide your committee into sectors of the student population so that polls can be taken of student interests. Use any media available to advertise the campaign.

Formulate ballots for students to vote which include not only the selection of candidates but a space for students to write different ways in which they participated in the campaign and the effects that they felt their vote had in the election and on the school as a whole. Also have students state the major reason that they voted for the candidate. These results should then be analyzed and published in the school newspaper along with an analysis of the campaign. The following types of questions should guide the analysis: 1) How was each campaign organized?; 2) What campaign methods were the most effective for each candidate?; 3) Who participated in the campaign and how?; 4) On what basis were voting decisions made? Did students tend to vote based on friendship, issues, or long-range affiliations with particular questions that the candidate has raised? How does this behavior compare to voting in other electorates at the local and national levels?; and 5) What effect could the election of one candidate rather than another have on the school as a whole?

Number of Students: 7 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

D. Student Participation in Political Communication in the School Setting

Political communication is one of the easiest types of political activities to execute and one of the most exciting. "News" in terms of the politics of the school is normally about people and events that are close to the students' everyday life. Without such knowledge, students have very little chance to understand or participate in the political life which surrounds them. The activities which follow attempt to give students experience in structuring and analyzing political communication.

1. Student Participation in the Creation of Political Communication

Purpose: To give students experience in promoting the spread of new political knowledge of events and opinions.

Outline of Activity: Identify at least three other students who want to aid you in doing this activity. Interview the principal, three teachers, and three students in order to determine what they consider to be the most significant events, decisions or activities that have happened in your school in the past month. List the three most common events as they are mentioned and save the list for future purposes. Then do a content analysis of your school newspaper over the period of the last month and make any additions to the original list that you think are important. Ask the members of your group to make any further additions which they think are important.

Now identify a large random sample of students in your school (30 or more) ot interview. Use the list of events that you have compiled and ask each student to honestly check any of the events or activities of which he was aware and to identify the source of his information. The student need not record his name on the list. Pick at random a few of the events that the student has identified and make sure that he knows what they were about.

Then begin an analysis of your data by counting the number of students who were aware of each event *and* the source(s) that were named for the information for each event. If you make a table with the activities listed as rows and leave one column for counting people who were aware of them and the next columns for identifying sources, the task is easily done even for a large sample. Now analyze your data by answering the following types of questions: 1) Were there any events which none of the students had heard about? Were there any events which less than five of the students recognized?; 2) What were the most common sources cited for student information? The least common?; and 3) Were there any obvious sources of information which very few of the students used? By answering these questions, you now have a profile of the content of student political knowledge and the sources from which that knowledge is found.

From your analysis, determine what kinds of political knowledge students are missing. Then determine the most widely used source from which students gain knowledge. Structure a communications system which will supply students with needed information through the most widely used sources. Examples would be beginning to add different types of news to the student newspaper or an improved system of student-to-student communication. Either take responsibility as a group for supplying this type of knowledge or transfer the function to an existing group.

Number of Students: 4 or more.

Time: 2-3 weeks.

2. Student Participation in Structuring the Network of Political Communication

Purpose: To give students experience in developing networks for political communication and in determining the effects of such networks on the school political system as a whole.

Outline of Activity: Create a group of at least three people to undertake this study. Interview the principal, three teachers and three students in order to determine what each thinks are the five most important channels of communication between students, faculty, and administrators in the school. Keep a list of these channels of communication. Now design an announcement of an upcoming school event or decision that the sponsors of the event have not yet announced and that students would not already naturally have knowledge of. Arrange with this group to manage at least the initial announcement of the event.

Choose the three most cited channels of communication and announce the event simultaneously over these channels. The next day, interview a large random sample of students (30 or more) in order to determine whether the students have heard of the event and from what source. Determine whether or not any students who have not heard of the event use the main channels of communication. Discuss with these students relevant ways in which communication channels could be more effectively established. Make a plan and execute it for expanding or changing the network of communication to include these students.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

3. Student Participation in the Increase of Political Communication

Purpose: To give students experience in determining the flow of political communication and its effect on the school political system.

Outline of Activity: Undertake a study of the use of the school intercom system and its effects on student behavior. First organize a set of six other students to work with you in the analysis. Randomly select seven classrooms in which to gather your data. Then arrange to be present in these classrooms when the announcements are made on the intercom. Observe the behavior of students and teachers during the announcement. Then administer a questionnaire to students and teachers asking them to list what announcements were made and describe why or why not they feel that the announcements were valuable to them.

When the data has been collected, begin your analysis by counting how many of the topics that were announced were recalled by students and teachers. Determine whether or not there is any pattern in the announcements that were recalled versus those that were not. Also analyze the responses for generalizations about why students do or do not listen to announcements. Now arrange to have only a few announcements made over the intercom on a pre-arranged day. Go to seven different randomly selected classrooms and duplicate the experiment. Analyze your data as before.

Then compare your conclusions from one experiment to the next. Answer the following types of questions in making your comparisons: 1) Did the decrease in the flow of communications from one experiment to the next have any measurable effect on what students could recall from announcements? Did they recall more? Did they recall different types of pieces of communication?; 2) Do students generally remember one type of communication and not another? Report your findings to the principal and in the student newspaper. Then attempt to reconstruct the communication system to better manage the flow of communication. When your reconstruction has been in operation for the period of two weeks, interview the same students and ask questions about recall of communications coming from the new structure. Is this structure any more effective? Make changes in the structure according to your evaluation.

Number of Students: 7 or more.

Time: 1-2 months of selected activity.

E. The Utilization of Political Influence in Student Participation in the School Setting

A great deal of the ability of students to effectively participate in political activity depends on understanding how to use their political influence. What resources they choose to use in which situations can be key to the success or failure of their political activity. The following activities attempt to give students experience in identifying the structure of influence within the school setting and in various ways of exerting influence within that structure.

1. Student Participation in School Political Influence Situations

Purpose: To give students experience in attempting to achieve political goals in varying types of influence situations.

Outline of Activity: Interview the principal in order to determine what three important decisions he thinks he will have to make in the period of the next two weeks. List these decisions and ask the principal, what, at this point, he feels are relevant alternatives for each decision. Keep a record of these alternatives. Then determine a school decision-situation in which a group or several groups of individuals are responsible for making decisions such as the school board, P.T.A., school club, or student council. Interview at least two members of this group in order to obtain a list of three decisions which they will make in the period of the next month. Then do a review of any club or organization of which all students in the study group are members. Determine a function which is needed by the club which is not being performed at this time. Arrange to hold an election of a person to perform this service. Make sure that at least two people run for this position in the election.

One part of the student study group then selects one of the decisions which the principal has indicated he will have to make and research the topic. Students formulate a sound problem statement and alternatives which may extend beyond those which the principal has mentioned. The students then choose one alternative which they favor. They formulate a set of arguments in support of their position and, if possible, collect evidence relevant to their arguments. They then present their case to the principal in an attempt to influence his position on the problem. A record is kept of this dialogue. Depending on what the principal states, students attempt to mobilize as much support as is justified for their views. Students keep a record of their attempts to influence the principal's decisions. This situation is typical of influence relationships under a one-man decision rule.

Another set of students selects one of the decisions of the decision-making group which they have identified and go through similar procedures as the first group. Students select a decision, do research on the problem, formulate a clear problem statement and alternatives, and develop arguments and evidence which support their choice. The students then carefully study the composition of the decision-making group. They select out several people to influence and present their ideas to them. Depending on the positions of the members of the board, they attempt to influence members who disagree with them in as many ways as possible. Record should be kept of the various ways in which students attempt to influence members of the decision-making group and the responses of members of the group.

The third set of students choose one candidate which they favor in the election and develop as many arguments as they can think of for supporting that candidate. Students then attempt to influence as many other members of the club as possible to vote for their candidate. Students keep a record of how many people they influence to vote for their candidate. A record also needs to be kept of the final vote. Students should then analyze their records and the vote in order to determine whether or not their influence attempts had any effect on the election.

When all three types of influence activities have been completed, students should meet as a group to discuss the success of their efforts in the various influence situations. The types of questions which could structure the discussion are as follows: 1) Which kinds of influence attempts were most successful in each of the three situations?; 2) Is there a difference in the way influence can be exercised in one-man rule and group-rule situations? In majority-rule voting situations?; and 3) What effect does the structure of influence have on how decisions are made? Is any one structure more likely to produce school change than another? What about school conflict?

Number of Students: 6 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

2. Types of Influence in Student Participation

Purpose: To give students experience in exercising different types of political influence in the school setting.

Outline of Activity: Identify a decision-making group in the school which has the following characteristics: 1) It is a permanent decision-making body within the school which meets at least on a bi-weekly basis; 2) It considers decisions which are relevant to most students, faculty, and administrators; and 3) There are at least four decision-makers involved in making decisions. Then determine at least four students who want to work as a group to explore different ways in which influence can be used to effect decisions of the group. Interview at least one member of the group to determine what decisions it will be making in the near future. Also do an analysis of the records of the group's past decisions in order to determine how the group works together to make decisions and who traditionally votes in given ways on issues.

When your background work is done, determine one decision and relevant alternatives on which to work. Research the issue, develop a clear problem statement, develop alternative solutions, and make a choice on a position. Develop a sound set of arguments and evidence for your position. Now organize the group into four different tasks. The task of one part of the group is to convince members of the original decision-making group of the student position by using as much knowledge (arguments and evidence) as possible, but without resorting to alternative types of influence. The task of the second set of students is to use as much wealth, in this case student time and energy, as possible as a bargaining tool for influencing the decision. For example, students could offer their time in helping to carry out the program if it were accepted (students must keep this part of their bargain if they win). The task of the third group is to use as much power (the power of numbers) as possible to influence votes by arguing that most students support them. Finally, a fourth set of students argues from authority (their position in the school as the basis for which the school exists in the first place). No groups should use more than one form of influence. Each group keeps a record of its influence attempts.

When the issue has been resolved, students meet as an entire group to discuss the success of their efforts. Questions such as the following should be answered: 1) When are different types of influence more effective than others?; 2) How does the exercise of influence effect decision-making? and 3) How can the type of influence used produce change or conflict in the school system as a whole?

Number of Students: 4 or more.

Time: 1-2 months of selected activity.

F. Student Participation in the Allocation of Resources in School Political Activity

What share in the resource expenditures of a school go directly to students? How can students participate in budget allocations so that their interests can be directly represented? Of course, all of the resources allocated in a school system indirectly effect students. Yet the question remains whether the distribution of resources in any way reflects students needs or interests. The following activity is designed to give students experience in determining how political resources are distributed and the effects of that distribution on political change, maintenance, development and conflict in the school setting.

Purpose: To give students experience in determining the distribution of political resources in the school political setting.

Outline of Activity: Obtain a copy of the school budget for the present fiscal year. Study the budget so that you have a good idea of the proportion of resources that were distributed to each of the major categories of curriculum, personnel, and facilities. Now survey the students by sending out a questionnaire which asks them to identify those areas in which they think school investments of resources need to be made. Include the important specific categories of expenditures that you have found in the school budget and any others which you think are important. Encourage students to add categories to your list if they desire. Analyze the survey results so that you can determine relevant needs and interests of students.

Now talk with one or more members of the school board and have them help you make cost estimates of the different needs that the students have listed. When this is complete, return to the budget and try to work within the total to include student interests by excluding other expenditures. When you have finished your work you should present your findings to the school board, argue for your redistribution, and determine the possible effects of the redistribution on the school system as a whole.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

G. Political Ideology as It Effects Student Political Participation in the School Setting

In the school setting, traditional political party ideologies do not give much structure to decisions that are made. Yet a great deal of decision-making behavior is dependent upon the particular educational ideology which pervades the school setting. Students are often much like the "silent majority" of citizens in the national mass electorate, for their ideology rarely becomes developed enough for them to act based on a firm set of beliefs about what the educational enterprise is all about. The educational philosophers in schools, then, are rarely student types. The following activities are not designed to make philosophers out of students, but rather to give them experience in determining how ideology can make a difference in the kinds of political activities in which they participate.

1. Public Opinion and Its Effects on Student Participation

Purpose: To give students experience in participating in the creation and analysis of public opinion in the school setting and to determine the effects of different ideologies on the school system as a whole.

Outline of Activity: A group of students should organize themselves to undertake a survey of student opinion on educational issues. First obtain a copy of any official school literature put out by the board of education or the principal's office which states something about the educational philosophy in your school system. The major ideas of that philosophy should be recorded for future use. Then construct a questionnaire which determines whether or not students support that philosophy and, more important, what their ideas on education are. Ask students to be specific about the curricular and other implications of their philosophy.

Analyze the survey results by listing all of the ideas and their implications and count how many students support each of the ideas. Then compare the ideas that the students supported the most to those presented by the school. Take at least one set of student ideas and develop it fully, complete with arguments and implications for the school's operation. Make sure that these ideas are incorporated into the student handbook and present your findings to a few members of the board of education. Attempt to gain some consensus from board members on how the basic ideology of the school could be changed. Discuss how ideological changes could promote political change, maintenance, development and conflict within the school system.

Number of Students: 3 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

2. Student Leadership and Political Ideology

Purpose: To give students experience in determining how changes in political ideology can be introduced by leaders and differences between leadership ideology and mass public opinion.

Outline of Activity: Select five student leaders to interview. Ask each leader to list the major ideas which are part of his educational ideology. Ask the leader to determine what specific policies and consequences he thinks would result from his beliefs.

Then ask each leader to define the membership of the group which he leads. Take a random sample from each of the membership lists and interview the members. Ask them both if they agree with the ideologies stated by the leaders and to state their own beliefs about the goals and consequences of education. Analyze your results to determine the differences and similarities between the ideologies of leaders and followers.

Now determine one issue in your school which is relevant to all organizations you have just surveyed. Determine your position on the issue and which groups will support you in each organization that you have just surveyed based on their beliefs. Introduce your position through these groups into the organization. Arrange for the issue to be debated in each organization. Attempt to influence as many members as possible to support your position by influencing their beliefs about education. Record the votes taken by each group on the issue. Determine how many votes you influenced through changes in beliefs on educational ideology.

Number of Students: 5 or more.

Time: 1 month of selected activity.

Each of the seven types of participation activities outlined above integrate knowledge and skills learned from previous activities with actual participation in school politics. They are most effectively used in combination, yet could be used individually as presented here. In either case, the activities have been designed as projects which range from a few students to an entire class such that student flexibility is maintained. In addition, most of the activities cover relatively long periods of time. This is necessary because of the concern for students making contributions to school political life, and contributions tend to take time if they are to be effective. However, because of the flexibility in the number of students, several of these activities can be undertaken simultaneously. Thus students can spend time making effective contributions in one activity and learn from the experience of others who are undertaking different activities.

At the outset of this section, the argument was made that the lab is designed to make politics an integral part of the life styles of students. Basically, the three types of activities are designed to promote student inquiry and participation in every school day in order to build habits of participation that will carry over into life beyond the school. While the activities can accomplish this, there is an equally important goal which is fulfilled simultaneously. The school itself changes as a result of student awareness and activity. School life becomes a real part of education. In a way, schools in which lab activities are promoted become much like the images of "active" or "participant" societies which futurologists have predicted. At minimum, they may come alive for students for the first time. The implications of the lab for various types of curricula and school social organization are outlined in the following section.

PART III: IMPLICATIONS OF THE LABORATORY FOR THE CURRICULUM AND THE SCHOOL

Many attacks on existing educational practices appear to be much like excavation operations in which old buildings are torn down to make way for new construction. The school must somehow be vacated and flattened by promoting student activity in the community in order to ensure the success of new civics instruction. New media, new curricula, new teaching techniques won't fill the bill. Students must observe politics as it happens in the city council, the local party headquarters, the police department, the streets of the local community. "Street life," as such, is the key dimension to learning about government and politics.[36] In this way, the rationale for abdicating the school is that school life is somehow apolitical and the activity which occurs in halls, classrooms, lounges and grounds around the school is not like that of streets, offices, group meetings, and parks in communities and state or national capitols.

In still another vein, many critics want to reform education from within. Compared to excavating, reforms advocated by this group often take on the look of interior decorating. Classes, teachers, and books remain, but new curriculum is stimulated, new incentive systems are developed for teachers and students, and increased facilities are advocated. Teacher training is also re-vamped by new techniques. The school, as such, puts on a new face. This is the sense of what Silberman advocates as the re-making of American education.

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[36] The need for learning from street life is well-documented in an article by Shirley Engle titled "The Future of Social Studies Education and NCSS," Social Education, November, 1970.

The school political laboratory is not designed to excavate or re-make educational practice in either of these ways. Indeed, the lab sensitizes us to how bad the building analogy is in the first place. Schools are not chiefly buildings or programs, but social and political systems. The focus of change must be on people. What the lab attempts to do is to create an awareness that the school is a community of people as varied and as political as any outside source and then to build a program based on the "street life" within schools. The program does not necessitate new curriculum, but provides a stimulus for change which comes from within. As such, the lab becomes an entry point for change, an injection of life into an organism which needs a new circulatory system more than a new face.

The surgery that the lab necessitates is delicate. The political life of the entire school will change as a result. Yet, the operation has unique advantages. Every school can make its own fit of the lab to its curriculum. The issues and groups studied and the activities undertaken are flexible. The responsibility for the integration between the curriculum and the lab is the school's own. Nevertheless, the political life of the school will change. Students will have not only increased awareness of the vitality of the political life of the school, but will have a contribution to make to its development. How much of a contribution depends largely on two elements which are the subject of this section: 1) the integration of the lab with the curriculum and 2) the receptiveness of the school organization itself.

The Integration of the Lab and the Curriculum

Without the substance of politics as understood through reading and research, the goals of the laboratory could not be more than superficially fulfilled. It is political knowledge that the lab is designed to put to use. It is course preparation in textbook, resource packages, or selected readings form that provides that knowledge. Otherwise, the laboratory experience is an adventure without also being a rich learning experience. The difference is analogous to that of a tourist who visits a foreign country without reading about the land or the people and one who learns the language and the traditional patterns of behavior of the people in order to select out those points which are of most relevance and interest to him.

The curriculum base, then, promotes an understanding and a selection of what is relevant and important to know about politics. The lab brings that knowledge alive and makes it useful for learning more and gaining experience. Actually, the integration between course materials and laboratory activities can be made in many ways. At least three are outlined here. The lab has been designed to be part of a new program in comparative politics. In this case, the integration between resource materials and the laboratory is carefully laid out in the form of a 12th grade government program. Yet the lab can also be thought of as a series of modules which can be integrated with courses in progress in any school. In this case, pieces of the lab can be put together in various ways to supplement topics in standard courses. Finally, the lab can be treated in itself as an elective course which is taken after certain prerequisites have been fulfilled. Each of these ways are outlined below.

A. The Laboratory as Part of a New Program in Comparative Politics

Eseentially, the particular framework from which we began to look at the school as a political system in Part I is part of a much larger view which provides the basis for looking at political systems of many types. Looking at politics as a system can form a foundation for a program of study which includes comparisons between schools, cities, states, nations, and relations between nations in international politics. These systems, as such, are not viewed principally as standard institutions defined by boundaries such as buildings or geographic areas, but as systems of behavior. Thus the school can be compared to the U.S. national system or the Chinese Communist national system by looking at leadership or decision-making behaviors rather than who is head of state or how many branches each government institution has.

The basis for comparisons is thus developed by defining a system as a set of elements and their interrelationships. In this case, the elements of any system are summarized by the seven concepts on which the lab is based: political decision-making, political leadership, political participation, political influence, political resources, and political ideology. Relationships between these concepts aid in the explanation of four fundamental political phenomena of political change, maintenance, development and conflict.

The ways in which comparisons can be made across systems using this framework can be illustrated in a short example of political change. Suppose for the moment that there are only two elements in the system: political resources and political participation. Further suppose that we are interested only in how changes in the structure of political participation occur as a result of the relationship between resources and participation. Examples of changes in the structure of participation can be demonstrated in the school community when students are included in formerly all faculty committees, in the local community when new interest groups are represented in city council meetings, on the national level when the franchise is extended or the number of representatives is changed, and on the international level when new nations emerge to participate in trade or foreign policy relations. In each case, the change in participation can be related to a subsequent change in the distribution of political resources in which each new group gained enough resources to make itself an influential source in political decision-making: students used time and energy to make their positions known, new interest groups used voting power to elect representatives, citizens exercised their right to vote for the first time, former territories won the right to self-government. Recognizing this similarity, students then have a basis for understanding political change in a much broader context than before: as the political resources of groups in the political system expand, the structure of political participation changes and new groups are included in the decision-making process. This is just one example of how comparisons can be made and generalizations drawn across systems at many levels.

It is this type of information which is conveyed through the core resource package in the comparative politics program. The laboratory activities fit into the total course program in three different ways. First, as the concepts are being introduced, the lab activities are used to give students concrete understanding of the concepts. If students were studying political participation, for example, the activities in Section C under "Knowledge-Building Activities" (pp.66-72) would aid them in understanding participation by offering concrete examples of types of participation, decisions on why people participate, the structure of participation, and the effects of participation on political change, maintenance, development and conflict. Similarly, if students were studying political ideology, the activities in Section G under "Knowledge-Building Activities" (pp.86-90) would aid them in understanding the structure and salience of ideology as well as the effects of ideological cleavage.

When students began to make comparisons between systems and generated generalizations about the political behavior defined under the concepts, the section of the lab on analytical skills under "Skill-Building Activities" (pp.93-104) aids them in developing the necessary skills for making use of their knowledge. For example, when the students have studied both political participation and political ideology and desire to make systematic comparisons across schools and local government units, the activities on making comparisons are an invaluable part of the exercise (pp.98-100) Similarly, when students began to gather data to support their generalizations, the activities under "Methodological Skills" would be used so that students could undertake systematic research.

Once students have developed general and concrete knowledge about the concepts and relationships, then certain participatory skills can be introduced which facilitate their participation experiences. The activities under "Participation Skills" (pp. 118-126) give them cues for participation in individual and group political activities such as making decisions or bargaining. The actual participation activities designed in Section C of Part II under "Participation Activities" (pp. 127-151) can then bring the student into using his knowledge and skills in actually participating in political activities in the school. In this way students can put their knowledge to use in working in actual school political activities, trying out political alternatives, and evaluating the success and failure of their own efforts to contribute to the development of the school political system.

The complete, integrated program, then, consists of a core resource package stressing comparative analysis which is grounded on the seven fundamental concepts and their relationships in an effort to explain the four fundamental experiences of political change, maintenance, development and conflict. Lab activities will be sequenced as a direct result of knowledge covered in the resource package. Learning as such, then, is the iterative process which has been depicted before. Students learn something about political life from readings of various types. Political knowledge is then extended through knowledge and skill-building activities. Finally, key ideas and skills are put to use in participation activities which provide extended experience on an everyday basis for students. Through the analyses and evaluation of these experiences, students constantly try different and more effective ways of participating in the political life of the school. In so doing, they build new political knowledge. The outcome of the interative process is not only a deeper understanding of politics, but a structuring of one dimension of a way of life for students as well as constructive inputs into the school system iteelf.

B. Laboratory Activities As Supplements to Pre-Existant Courses in Social Studies

Ideally, the full impact of the participation lab is gained by its integration into a program of instruction developed specifically for its inclusion. Yet such a perfect fit may not be possible in some school situations where government or sociology or international relations are taught in short modules or semester packages. In these situations, the lab can continue to provide every function which the full program would provide if care is taken in the way it is used.

Piecing together parts of the laboratory can be done effectively in several ways. Probably the most natural way to use the lab is to select out relevant material according to concepts. That is, when a particular concept such as political leadership is being studied in an American Government course in a unit on the Presidency, then the teacher would first select out those laboratory activities included under the political leadership section under "Knowledge Building Activities" (pp.59-65). In conjunction with these activities, he would choose several of the "skill-building" activities such as making generalizations and developing sound arguments which are requisite for students undertaking the leadership activities. He would include the leadership skills stressed on pages 122 through 125 . He could then select out those leadership activities in the participation section which he felt most suited his purposes, and students could gain experience in political leadership in the school setting. In this way, dimensions of the laboratory can be sliced out and coordinated in order to fit the needs of the particular courses in progress.

The lab can be useful in still another way. If the teacher wanted to introduce analytical, methodological or participation skills which were not otherwise developed within a regular program, the skills outlined under the section on skill-building would provide an introduction to concepts and generalizations, analysis, and group dynamics which would provide feedback into the regular course. For example, if a teacher were doing a course on the Soviet Union or an international relations course of a more general type, he could use the concept-building and generalization activities in conjunction with those on comparative analysis to build skills which would aid students in making statements which applied across specific national systems. He could also use conflict-resolution and decision-making activities listed under the section on participation skills (pp.118-126) to give students experience in understanding how foreign policy is conducted between nations.

Furthermore, the lab can be used for the study of different social and political issues in a standard problems of democracy course or when the teacher desires to work on a particular school, local or national issue in which students are interested. Let us suppose, for example, that students were interested in studying the problem of democratic decision-making. The activities and skills related in the lab under the topic of "decision rules" (pp. 55-56) or "effective decision-making" (pp. 120-122) provide the students with alternative models of decision-making for their evaluation as well as opportunities to determine whether or not the ways in which they decide decisions ought to be made are also effective in the real-world context of the school.

Along similar lines, the study of an issue such as Vietnam or pollution or city poverty can be enhanced through laboratory activities. All issues of this type are essentially policy activities. Therefore, the types of knowledge-building activities geared to explain the decision-making process can be invaluable to the study of any issue. Each of the decision-making activities are developed so that the teacher can include any issue which is of relevance to the class. Many of the activities which are listed under participation will measurably increase students' understanding of the different types of pressures which are exerted in any policy process. Thus, when students are asked to define an issue and alternatives and then to use that problem setting in various ways, the particular issue which is of interest to them can fill the bill.

Finally, the lab can be used to structure group or individual instruction. If a student or a group of students wanted to undertake a particular study, then the lab could provide basic topics, skills, or cues for working in groups that would be of use. If a group of students wanted to learn something about the effect of different draft or housing laws, for example, not only would the political influence activities in the knowledge-building section give them a good idea of the possible range of ways that people can be effected, but the skill section would provide a set of alternative ways that they could carry out their study.

In each of these ways, the school political laboratory can provide unique inputs into standard courses taught in many high schools across the nation. The kinds of contributions the lab can make to the programs are as varied as the programs themselves. The contributions it makes to student learning and experience depends largely on how the particular match is made between a course of study and the laboratory activities. The effective contribution that the lab can potentially make to both students and the school itself is, or course, only fully realized when an integrated program is developed in its entirety.

C. The School Laboratory as a Course of Study

Still another way that the lab can be adapted to the school setting is when the lab activity itself is made an elective course in which substantive courses of various types are pre-requisites. For example, if students take American Government in the ninth grade, the lab might be used as an elective in the eleventh or twelfth grades accompanying a problems course. In this way, students could draw from past knowledge and use the lab in conjunction with learning new information. As an elective, the school itself would be the focus for study and it would be up to both teachers and students to extend knowledge beyond the specific school setting.

Such an elective could be created by gathering materials on politics of the school and the local community and using this information as a core resource package for the laboratory program. The lab could then be used in its entirety and students could use case study and other materials from various courses of study to make comparisons. In still another sense, some organization other than the school, such as local government or labor union government could be the focus for the resource package and comparisons could be made between the information that the students were learning about unions and their experience studying the politics of schools. In any case, the laboratory can make a vital contribution as a course in and of itself.

In each of these cases -- as a part of a tailor-made new program, in conjunction with existing programs, or as a course of study itself -- the laboratory experiences provide valuable additional dimensions to learning and skill development. The effect of a course of study such as the school political laboratory is well-summarized in Simpson's conclusion to her book, Democracy's Stepchildren, when she states:[37]

> In the year 2500 there will still be those who doubt the theory of evolution. Will there also be those who believe that teaching words along will affect behavior? Given a commitment not merely to the transmission of culture but to the building and maintenance of a democratic society, the school, like Luther, can do no other; it must take its stand for reform.

The lab, in effect is designed to teach more than words. Yet taking a stand for reform is also much more complicated than Simpson's "words" suggest. The implications for the school that takes this particular stand are complex and various. These implications are the subject of the next section.

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[37] Elizabeth L. Simpson, Democracy's Stepchildren: A Study of Need and Belief, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1971, p. 185.

Implications of the Laboratory Program for the School System

Attempting to sort out the implications of the laboratory program for the school system can be quite like making predictions about the particular design that will appear at the next turn of a kaleidoscope. There are so many colors that can be sorted out in infinite ways that just about the only "safe" prediction is that the design will change. The same is true for the lab. Certainly, the roles of teachers and students will change from traditional behavior patterns. Yet how? Just as certainly the curriculum, use of facilities, the amount of information, and group relations in the school will change. Yet with what costs and benefits? As important, the school community extending far beyond the limits of the building itself will change just as increased awareness has always tended to change behavior as it changes minds. Yet with what consequences? If all these changes occur at the same time, what does the school system look like as a result?

Until the laboratory is put to use in a wide range of school systems, there will be few answers to these questions. Yet the point is not that we do not at this moment have answers; we never have had them. The point is that for the first time we may be asking some sound questions about the school as a social organization and its effect on student learning. The lab as a program demands that the school as an organization of administrators, teachers, and students take responsibility for meeting the demands of citizenship education that no other institution is designed to meet. Not words, as Simpson would say, but experience will produce democratic citizens.

What happens if a school decides to accept the challenge? How does the school board, the principal, or the teacher sort out the role he or she must play in the creation of this experience? Do we really create democratic citizens by trial and error, or is there a role to be played by various individuals in the school setting that makes more sense than others in producing these experiences? Even more important, what are useful limits to set so that the confusion of change can be creatively rather than destructively channeled? These types of questions are the subject of this section. Again, the _questions_ are the subject, the answers are not self-evident truths and come only in the combination of creative thinking and hard empirical evidence. The former is what is attempted here.

The Role of the Teacher. Traditionally, the role of a teacher has been relatively clear-cut. Teachers have functioned to transmit knowledge, provide models of adult behavior, and promote values which are conductive to maintaining a democratic society. This role has never been easy, for knowledge is always produced much faster than it is disseminated and social change has squeezed generation gaps to confuse appropriate models of behavior in a span of far less than a decade. Values, too, are constantly changing. We are continuously less sure of what values promote "democratic" behavior or even whether any uniform set of such values exist at all. The traditional role of teachers, then, is becoming much harder to effectively maintain.

In some ways, the lab makes the role of the teacher less difficult under changing conditions. It does not depend on the teacher as a fount of knowledge but rather as a stimulator and coordinator of activities. The teacher need not know everything, but rather uses books as resources and plays the role of a vehicle for pointing out what resources are appropriate for students undertaking widely different tasks. The teacher, then, is responsible for knowing how to find books, articles, or other information but he does not carry sole responsibility for transmitting the knowledge they contain.

In his role as coordinator, then, the teacher adapts more easily to the flood of information which the media brings to him. Rather than serving as a repository of knowledge, the teacher is able to learn and explore with students rather than for them. The teacher's key role becomes one of being able to ask good questions rather than consistently to posit answers. In this way, he attempts to guide student inquiry in the Socratic tradition

There is at least one part of the teacher's role which is much different and considerably more difficult as a result of the lab. Traditionally, the teacher's authority and responsibility have remained largely within the classroom itself. Except for advising or coaching certain student activities, teachers have had major responsibility only in classroom activity. The lab takes the teacher out of this role by virtue of the fact that the "classroom" loses meaning in the context of the lab. The boundaries expand such that the limits of the classroom become identical with those of the school system. The teacher thus becomes a negotiator and bargainer with the school administration and faculty in order to arrange student activities which extend beyond the individual classroom. The success of the lab depends a great deal on the network of political relationships that the teacher himself can set up that will permit and promote the types of activities on which the lab is based.

The teacher's role thus changes demonstrably as a result of the inclusion of the laboratory activities. In effect, the teacher combines the role of politician and scientist -- administration and guiding research and activity -- in ways that vary radically from his former position. Accommodating to such a role will not be easy, but it should at minimum be new and refreshing. The implications of a highly politicized teacher population within the school system will be drawn later. At this point it is safe to say that teachers will tend to expand their roles in the school system by opening the range of activities that they undertake in the school. The natural consequence of this expansion is an increase in the possibilities open to them for affecting the political community of which they are a part.

The Role of the Students. Just as the dimensionality of the teacher's role changes as the laboratory activities are included, so the role of students changes. Students who have traditionally occupied spectator roles in the classrooms will now uniformally take on actor roles. This applies across the board to the potential dropout as well as the student council president. Civic education has traditionally supported the aim of educating all citizens, not just college-bound students. The lab will give each student in the program repeated opportunities to take an active part in his own learning and to make a contribution to the school community of which he is a member.

What kind of actor roles will students take? The flexibility of the laboratory activities allows students to have relative freedom of choice in constructing their own learning experience. There are limits to this, of course, as the program is designed to teach certain concepts and skills which can only be learned if some group of students selects to do each of the activities. Yet over the range of the program, students still maintain a great deal of choice. In addition, students are actors in another way, for they also to a large extent determine the contributions that will be made to their own social and political environment. Whether that contribution consists of producing more effective media for student consumption or making decisions about curriculum, students become active participants in shaping the future of the school system.

Immediate reactions to this kind of thinking are often very precautionary. Images of students becoming actively politicized within the school system are immediately associated with radical behavior and relative chaos. Citations backing such images fill the newspapers daily. Even without hysteria, with all those students turned loose in the school daily, something is bound to happen. This is certainly true, something is bound to happen. For many schools, that anything at all happens in the school will be unique. Any vital and creative institution is going to face problems as its students make real mistakes in their active participation. Furthermore, control of mistakes is not necessarily the function of an educational institution in which learning has real meaning. Mistakes, in effect, are part of the learning experience.

Moreover, if students do react to participation in dysfunctional ways, the lab has a built-in safety valve which again mitigates against the necessity of administrative sanction. If a decision is made to which students react destructively, participation through the lab has made that decision part of students lives. The school is no longer an object "out there," it is a vital part of their everyday life. Control, then, will be a natural part of student activity as they perceive that their activity has become a crucial part of their own well-being.

The essence of the lab, then, is the creation of a democratic school experience for students in which they can make choices, contributions, and mistakes without having the constant fear of authority or reprimand. It will be a unique role for students to play in schools; one which, with any luck at all, may provide guidelines for citizens to produce more creative roles in the larger society.

Implications for School Organization and Change. Probably the most extensive impact of the laboratory comes in terms of the institution which it is designed to effect, the network of interpersonal and programmatic relationships that are part of the school as an organization. Certainly one of the major effects is that of sheer increase in informatin. As a result of the laboratory activities, more will be known about the politics of the school system than ever before. Significantly different groups of people will also have information of others' activities which they did not have previously. In addition to increases in information, the lab may also produce changes in curriculum, scheduling, facilities, personnel and group relations which are unprecedented in schools. These types of changes will not come overnight, but there is every reason to believe that they are natural outgrowths of laboratory activities.

The changes in the amount and flow of information in the school system will be dramatic. Not only students, but both faculty and administrators will have more information than ever before about what is happening in the school system. In addition, students themselves will have a very different type of information than they have ever had before. If knowledge is power, every sector of the school will be better able to control its own destiny and students will have a much larger part to play by virtue of the fact that it is their activity which is producing that information.

Of particular import is the point that the laboratory is designed to make unique use of the information which it generates. Students are consistently producing information about the school in a comparative context. They are, in other words, producing arguments for at least three sides to every question. What this process insures is a vital dynamic of constant choice for innovation. The participation activities in the lab give students, administrators and teachers alike a consistent opportunity to try out new ideas and see if they work in the context of always having other directions in which to move. In this way student opinion does not often generate a set of demands as much as a set of alternatives.

The laboratory is also bound to effect other aspects of the curriculum. If the laboratory is successful at the twelfth grade level, there is no reason to confine this type of activity and participation to seniors. In quite another sense, the fact that students will study the curriculum and its effects on students as part of the policy process of schools is bound to bring changes from student inputs. Again, sheer information about alternatives and experimentation with different kinds of learning situations will be a minimal output of the school laboratory.

The types of facilities that are available for students, faculty, and administrators will also change as a result of laboratory activities. Administrators will have a repository of data which over several years will constitute a sound base for making decisions about future plans for the school. Teachers will be consistently changing the life style of the teacher community as student activities spread to other classes and after school hours. Teachers, in other words, will become much more flexible in scheduling their own time and activities. Students, too, are bound to change not only the information structure in the school through a series of polls, but to make student opinion and academic activities a central part of the school calendar. The institution of data centers, experimental labs, and communication centers will be only a fragment of the kinds of facilities which will become increasingly necessary to fulfill school needs.

In each of these ways, information produced by the school laboratory has produced changes in the school system. As with any increase in mass communication and opening of new areas of activity, the lab will also tend to produce new roles for school personnel. In so doing, the lab introduces a change dynamic in the school which has seldom been present in the past. Students, faculty, and administrators will be pursuing common goals with a range of alternatives unknown before. Thus the lab itself can be an agent for permanent and profound changes in the school system.

Implications for the School Community. The implications of the lab stretch far beyond the walls of the school building itself. The school, as we have stated many times here, is part and parcel of the political life of the local and national community. There is no reason to think that changes in the politics of schools will not have their effect on communities outside its boundaries. Obviously, there will be direct effects which may demonstrably change citizen roles and therefore the grass-roots politics of the nation itself.

There is no reason to think that the information on school politics which is produced by the lab will not be valuable to community groups. Therefore, just as school groups will have data and alternatives from which to generate support for policy alternatives, so will community groups. The dynamics of political instruction between the school and the local community change dramatically in the process. At minimum the local community becomes much more aware of what is going on in the school. At maximum, community groups become much more active in taking part in school politics.

Yet the implications run far beyond this. As students leave the school equipped with the kinds of knowledge, skills, and participation which the lab offers, the nature of citizenship is also bound to change. If students have genuinely made a habit out of participation, then the ways in which they view community action, voting in elections, and responsibility for effective change on all levels of the system is bound to be different. How different is a matter for research, yet one would assume that few students would not see political participation in some form as a part of their everyday lives.

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